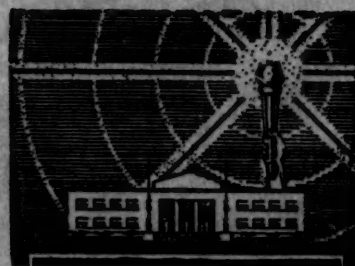


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VOLUME XLIX, NUMBER 6

NOVEMBER, 1958

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The Social Studies

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As the Editor Sees It

The violence of the school integration battle in the South is causing some people to fear that the spirit of the Confederacy is about to rise again and produce another sectional conflict. We doubt it. This time the drama of Southern revolt against Federal law is invested with none of the romance and glamor of magnolias and honeysuckle. There are no Robert E. Lees or Wade Hamptons. There is no King Cotton. There is no illusion, even among the demagogues and fire-eaters, that the South can secede and go it alone. There is no way of depicting the matter as a noble resistance of a united Southern citizenry against Northern tyranny, because Southern citizens are sharply divided. In simple truth, the South under the segregationist leaders is retreating down a dark and lonely road that has no outlet, and the trumpets will not sound this time.

It is truly a "lost cause," which cannot hope to expire in glory. Both the world and the nation have changed a great deal in a hundred years. The power of the American Government is now so completely and inextricably woven into the total life of all its citizens that it is quite impossible for any group of them to accept some part of it and reject another. The economic fabric of the nation today is so closely bound that no segment can pull sharply away without suffering a fatal injury to its own existence.

It is not necessary even to consider the unquestioned physical power of the Government to enforce the decrees of its courts. It is enough to point out that the commercial and invested wealth of the South depends on the protection of the courts. Bondholders, insurance companies, banks and national

corporations will scarcely follow the segregationists into a program of legal defiance which will endanger their commitments in school and other investments. Will insurance companies, for instance, insure a school building which is being operated in defiance of a court injunction? Will investors buy the bonds of such a school district? Will banks make loans to school or state authorities for purposes which may be declared illegal? Will every Southern taxpayer (including branches of national corporations) pay school taxes without demur, if the tax is to be spent in unconstitutional ways? Will suppliers extend credit for school equipment to a school board whose funds may be suddenly non-existent?

And what of the long-range effects on the state which may try to replace its public school system with some kind of private education? Would its graduates be able to enter good colleges elsewhere? Would competent teachers prefer employment there? Would new residents, thinking of their children, seek out such a state? Would industry and business choose to establish themselves in such a state, knowing that prosperity and good school systems are normally co-existent? And finally, would those residents who had the means of moving elsewhere not find it to their economic advantage to do so, thus taking out of the state much of its strength?

We do not think that any group can successfully defy the courts of the United States. But the power of education today is scarcely less striking. The systematic reduction of educational standards in any place will inevitably produce a social and economic blight there. Nothing can prevent it. And so we see in the South's present course only that dark and lonely road, leading nowhere.

Bankers' Sons Don't Teach

BY JOHN D. GARWOOD

Fort Hays Kansas State College, Hays, Kansas

And neither do lawyers'. And the reason they do not is because there is no present and no future in this occupation for those who are interested in securing a better living for themselves and their progeny.

This fact is brought out in striking fashion in the Second Report issued in the fall of 1957 by the Committee on Education Beyond High School. The Committee noted that at the present time approximately \$3.15 billion is being spent annually for higher education in this country. This represents a per capita expenditure of \$18.51 annually. At the same time per capita expenditures for tobacco and alcohol are \$85.00, parimutual betting \$15.77, cosmetics \$9.65, recreation \$79.00, automobiles \$87.00, and radio receivers, television sets, and movies \$26.00. In terms of gross national product our annual expenditures for education amount to less than three-quarters of 1%.

Speaking further to the point, in 1954 half of the college faculty in this country earned less than \$5,400 per year. At that time only one out of two would ever earn as much as \$7,000 per year, should he rise to the rank of full professor. The salary of the highest rank of professor is about half the average income of physicians. The median salaries of the academic profession (1953-54) compare unfavorably with lowest paid nonprofessional jobs in major corporations. Thus:

Academic profession:

Instructor	\$4,000
Assistant professor	4,900
Associate professor	5,700
Professor	7,000

Nonprofessional industrial jobs:

Average wage earner	\$4,900
Leader	6,200
Foreman	7,600
Supervisor	10,200

The teaching profession is the only major profession of this century where there has been a relative, and in the senior ranks, an absolute deterioration of economic status. The prosperity of the past decade has passed by those who have sought the academic Ph. D. robes. Today it is a common occurrence for the young graduate to enter business or industry at a higher salary than the teacher who instructed him.

In a word, the sons of our country's leaders in finance, industry, and the more financially revered professions, do not seek their fortune in teaching. Their industry, their inventiveness, their genius, come aflower in determining how much swept-wing our fenders require, how thin our air conditioner sets should be, how we may be kept well groomed and in good taste at all times, i.e., the universal problems of sour stomachs, yellow teeth, unruly, unreasonable hair or dearth of it, etc.

From whence come these economic pariahs who wend their way onto the lecture platforms in college classrooms? It has been the writer's observation that they come chiefly from the lower middle class families—from families where the breadwinner is a small farmer, a skilled laborer, a small merchant, a teacher, or some other similarly circumstanced occupation.

Had the candidate for economic oblivion come from a better financial situation, he would have proceeded through college into one of the more substantial professions, or gone in with dad after a culture-gratifying experience.

The potential teacher, on the other hand, has little capital at his call, hence, from lack of better alternatives, he teaches.

To put it painfully and bluntly, our best talent is not in the field of teaching. In Hays, Kansas, a city of 10,000 population, it is the opinion of the writer that the drive, the en-

ergy, the capacity to will and do, rests in those downtown and not on the campus. This is an allegation and a confession.

The coming of age of the Russian satellite has been a bench mark for our educational processes. During the past decade the clock has struck so softly that we have failed to hear it. There is no mistaking its tone now, however. We are awakened to the fact that we have too few college teachers, and also that our best talent is not in the teaching field. It may be that throwing the baby out with the bathwater may have salutary results.

Despite the ragged condition of this line of endeavor, the *elan vital* of our economic and social frame of reference, rests in the teacher's hands. His efforts are akin to the basic research performed by the scientists. The results, although cumulative, may not be visible for years, if then. Nevertheless, the superstructure for the future is upon the scaffold of the teacher's presumed adequacy for the task at hand.

PRESSURE GROUPS AND INCOME

Thus in the U.S. today we find not only a shortage of college teachers, but also we find the country's top-drawer talent not in the field. The reason for this low estate is that the teaching profession, unlike other occupational areas, exerts but small influence upon the collective will of the other members of the economy in terms of securing income for services rendered. An examination of other sectors of the economic body will point this up very cogently.

Labor. In the field of labor, 18,000,000 union members command the respect of anyone who would seek a government office. In a heavily industrialized state, those who go to Washington go as representatives of a voting labor electorate. In turn, laws which are favorable to labor are placed in the statute books.

Business. In the world of grey flannel suits, pressure reaches the government from many sources. For many decades economists have filled beginning "econ" books and blackboards with weighted invective on tariff restrictions. Yet, decade after decade tariffs go on.

In November, 1957, to please six U. S. companies manufacturing spring-operated clothespins, in a less than \$4,000,000 annual market, President Eisenhower doubled the tariff import duties on spring clothespins. This, despite the risk of offending West Germany, Yugoslavia, Sweden, Denmark, and five other nations. This, despite the fact that the imports' share of the total market in 1956 was only 29%. Logic, oh! logic, economic reasoning, and the spirit of Adam Smith all melt like spun sugar before the pressure on a chief executive and the Tariff Commission. Would that the college teacher might drink of the same elixir.

Our postal system goes into the red a half billion annually. This represents between 15-20% of the total cost of higher education. Why is the business of carrying mail one involving a subsidy from the taxpayers? Again pressure—newspapers and magazines, which take 80% of the postman's bag in weight and volume, are delivered for less than carrying cost. As long as there is newsprint and the pencil the editors will call upon God and patriotic Americans to defend their sacred right in providing the "Truth" for all readers. Before such a man-made wind, who can stand?

In other segments of the economy, men exert pressure on the rest of us. Tax laws are written so that a Texas oil man can write off 27½% of his taxes on oil depletion; or the owner of the King Ranch can depreciate a choice bull over five years; or if a special tax necessity certificate is secured a new factory can be depreciated in five years for tax purposes.

Corporate expense accounts have become part of American folklore. They can be enjoyed without being understood, and they are being enjoyed.

Did these things just happen? Of course not—the government, you and I, have accepted this arrangement, we have been pressured into it. Our laws are what we accept; what is true today may not be true tomorrow. The sociologists tell us that truth is a relative term.

The farm. And down on the farm the

voters turn out at election time. The farm bloc is a potent, vocal, assertive group. In the past they have combined with other groups to achieve a "farm program."

As members of society, we have agreed to pay the farmer to not produce a good. This is indeed a reverse twist in a competitive price economy where we price our goods and services and pay people to produce them. Here we reward for not producing, a true economic Alice in Wonderland.

Direct payments to farmers in the past fiscal year amounted to \$806,000,000. This is approximately 40% of the amount spent on higher education during the same interval.

Programs supporting farm prices involved another \$2.55 billion, or about 81% of the total spent for higher education during the same time. Of this amount, \$1.6 billion was for the cost of selling surplus commodities abroad below cost or giving those commodities. Of the \$2.55 billion, \$596 million involved transportation and storage costs. Thus, direct payments to farmers and support of farm prices were about 21% more than our total expenditures for education beyond high school.

Silver. Another pressure bloc with a past is that of silver, a bloc made up of a handful of silver producers most of whom represent large corporations producing silver as a by-product. The Senators of the Rocky Mountain States together with brethren from the West Coast have joined hands with the members of the farm bloc. The result of this horse-trading has been a treasury accumulation of thousands of tons of silver worth over \$2.2 billion. This metal waits in the Treasury vaults—for what? Pat McCarran of Nevada never did say.

The Professions. The members of some professions are a law unto themselves. "Hands off!" they cry. "We need no tariff; no soil bank for us; the Wagner Act is passé; no silver purchases, please." By restricting their numbers they demand more for fewer services rendered by their group to the other members of society. They are then in the enviable position of rugged individualists who damn those who look to the government

for loaded rules of the game while they themselves, through their strong economic position, ask only that they be left alone.

The Teachers. Thus, the teachers, the Caspar Milquetoasts of the economic world in their forty-dollar suits, may well wring their hands and call upon the spirit of John Dewey. As voters they elect—but no one.

In some states the chief executive may occasionally swing on them to please some more influential group. A man may be for education and still slap the educator's face. Contrary to popular opinion, these are not incompatible facts, although they are incontrovertible.

Unlike labor, farm, or silver groups the professors have no political power. Unlike those in the business world they have little silver or gold to offer the statesman seeking office. Hence, having no voting deterrent, no contributory virtues in finance, the college "prof" will have no laws enacted which will succor him, no commission or administrative appointments which will permit him to "get to the government" in its strategic or tactical operations.

In terms of influence on the other members of society, the professor's influence is somewhat like an ex-officio member of a commission. He may advise, he may take part in the discussions. Thus we find him, brief case in hand, hurrying to a committee meeting to study the problem, on a commission to research the need, speaking before the Lions Club. Reports are issued as he cries out from his economic wilderness. These reports are read and everyone agrees that he is indeed in hard straits.

His professional groups provide information, witnesses to the cause, but they stand pretty much with empty holster. Remember that the organization's constituents elect no one either through the ballot box or through an exchange of bank deposits.

THE WHOLE VS. THE SUM OF THE PARTS

The problem of college education in the U.S. today is a prime example of where the whole may not be equal to the sum of its parts—it may be greater. What is good for one state or one university or college may not

be good for the aggregate public weal. It is not the duty of the state executive or Board of Regents to place the weal of the totality of the nation as the goal of their efforts. It is enough to solve problems within state boundary lines.

In the legislature reasonable, prudent and God-fearing men may find the question resolves itself into higher salaries for relatively few voters or a new state road from Dover to Middletown for many voters.

A moth in a carpet gnawing on a thread does not see the whole pattern, he sees only the blue thread.

PROBLEM SOLVING

In the last part of the 19th century state and local efforts to define and regulate business affected with a public interest—public utilities—faced the problem of state boundary lines. How could the state of Illinois regulate the Union Pacific Railroad which runs to the Coast? The problem is national, not state. Hence, national commissions evolved to meet the problem—the ICC, FCC, etc.

In the field of banking, the wave of bank failures from 1929 to 1932 pointed up sharply that state bank insurance plans could not solve a national banking problem. We enacted the F.D.I.C. in 1933 to fill this void.

In the field of drugs, food, and advertising the problem of state boundary lines was finally faced up to in federal methods of regulation.

In the farm field, the labor sector, in sectors crossing state boundary lines, collective national effort is required to meet national questions.

Our higher education problem today is a national one. It traverses state boundary lines. It meshes with our defense effort. Our expenditures for higher education have been less than three-quarters of 1% of our gross national product. We spend nearly five times as much annually on tobacco, liquor, and automobiles. We pay the farmer considerably more for the act of not producing than we do for higher education.

Speaking in San Francisco for Harvard College's fund-raising drive, President Nathan Pusey noted that while the average American college teacher's salary is \$5,400 annually, his Russian counterpart's salary is \$18,000, while top professors earn from \$35,000-\$50,000 annually. Can we doubt that the best minds in Russia will be found in the academic world? Would it be reasonable to assume that this will have far-reaching effects on the Russian educational progress? If the green wood burns, what of the dry?

It has been said that college teachers in the United States, through their inadequate salaries, are subsidizing the education of students, and in some instances the luxuries of their families, by an amount which is more than double the total of alumni gifts, corporate gifts, and endowment income of all colleges and universities combined. This is the largest scholarship program in the world.

CONCLUSION

It seems clear that states have not and cannot meet this national problem. The writer has not favored federal intervention in education. Yet, when the alternatives are education as it now is with our college staffs grossly under-paid and staff members leaving the field by the thousands, when our best young people seek other more lucrative lines of endeavor, when this alternative is contrasted with federal support for higher education, federal aid seems completely desirable. A national problem will never be solved on a piecemeal state basis.

We need to more than double our spending for education past the high school. It should never be less than 2% of our gross national product. If it is, we cheat ourselves and those who come after us.

The telltale of the future was written high in the skies that past October in an historic unfolding which turned no sharp corners. The bell tolls with finality for a civilization which concerns itself only with ideas of yesterday . . . and there is no bringing back of what was yesterday. There is only tomorrow.

Privilege in Pre-revolutionary France: The Twilight of the Feudal Order

ALFRED G. PUNDT

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Class distinctions were universal in early modern Europe. Although their evolution did not follow exactly the same pattern in every country, the primary social groups usually had a common background in military conquest or subjugation. Thus the old French nobility traced its descent or its presumed descent from a medieval conquering race. In France as elsewhere in western Europe, however, this warrior caste was greatly decimated or entirely extinguished, notably during the wars of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Meanwhile new families, similarly marked by military distinction, were brought up from inferior social strata to replace them.

With the advent of modern times new economic forces, together with the national and fiscal policies of the French crown, gradually transformed the older criteria of social eminence. Inevitably the traditional stratification gave way to a new social differentiation, an evolution which the old nobility vainly combated and resisted. Thus in the cycle of expansion which characterized the French economy in the eighteenth century¹ established social classes progressively subdivided while the old privileged orders became increasingly exclusive.² This is not to suggest that the progressive self-containment of the privileged classes necessarily caused the Revolution but rather to focus attention upon this characteristic symptom of a decadent social order.

Some of the literature on the old regime in France presupposes the integrity of the nobility, the clergy, the bourgeoisie, the artisans and the peasants as distinct and homogeneous classes from the standpoint of professional function and social and political status.³ As a matter of fact, the cleavages within each of these groups were so great that one might seriously question the propriety of regarding them as distinct classes at all. This is as true of the nobility as of the bourgeoisie and the vast armies of artisans and peasants.

During the Middle Ages the French nobility constituted a class distinct by birth. It was a caste, properly so-called, distinguished by its education, its peculiar social life, economic interest and juridical and political status. In the course of time, however, many new nobles had been created, usually for fiscal reasons.⁴ After the Hundred Years' War it became easy to buy one's way into the nobility by acquiring any one of various offices such as a secretaryship to the king or by the purchase of a lordship,⁵ by marrying into a noble family or by outright purchase of a patent of nobility. Then too, there gradually arose an administrative and judicial nobility, distinguished from the hereditary nobility by its specialized functions as well as by its inability to transmit title by heredity.⁶ These various groups had grown until, on the eve of the Revolution, the French nobility were very numerous, probably exceeding one hundred thousand, including their families.⁷

Although the first ennoblements are said

to date from the fourteenth century, the hereditary French nobility constituted a fairly homogeneous social order as well as a political power of some consequence until the seventeenth century.⁸ The introduction of intendants by Richelieu and the curtailment of seigneurial military and judicial authority by Richelieu and Mazarin in the seventeenth century undermined the French nobility's political and judicial prerogative without, however, impairing its social prestige. Already in the sixteenth century the king and the great seigneurs sought to close society to all but the noblemen who had been presented at court. Hence titled gentlemen began to forsake the country for the gay court at the capital. Simultaneously, efforts were made to exclude commoners from the royal household. Thus an ordinance of 1579, issued in response to a petition of the nobility, pledged the king not to engage anyone for his apartment or as *maitres d'Hotel*, as gentlemen servants or as master of the royal stables save those who could prove their genteel lineage.⁹ By no means were all the hereditary noblemen, however, able to maintain establishments in Paris or Versailles. Many failed to attain royal favor or could not afford to maintain themselves in proper style at court. Thus, already in the seventeenth century, a cleavage arose within the hereditary nobility. The court nobility progressively differentiated itself from the provincial nobility while both continued to contend for preferment and privilege.

As in medieval times, the chief "preserves" of the hereditary nobility were the higher offices in the church and in the army and the elaborate royal household at the capital. Some great lords, such as the *duc de Choiseul*, distinguished themselves as gentlemen farmers but, for the most part, only the poorer nobles remained on the land. Meanwhile, commerce and industry remained more or less closed to gentlemen on the feudal theory that they were indispensable to the military professions. Thus the ordinances of Orléans (1560) and Blois (1577) prescribed penalties for *gentilshommes* who engaged in trade.¹⁰ Notably after 1600 var-

ious efforts were made to nullify this old custom, however. Already in the fifteenth century Louis XI permitted noblemen to engage in marine trade and agriculture without derogation, but few peers took advantage of this. In 1627 the nobles memorialized the king for permission to engage in trade without loss of privileges and a statute of Louis XIII in 1629 expressly stipulated that nobles might enter certain branches of trade without prejudice to their privilege or social status.¹¹ Colbert and, after him, Louvois sought to lure the nobility into trade by an edict of 1669 declaring the compatibility of maritime trade with privilege and a statute of 1701 encouraged them to enter the wholesale trade and even to seek guild master-ships. With some very notable exceptions, most of these efforts were unavailing and the "law of derogation" remained in full vigor in most of the kingdom until the end of the old regime.¹²

Viewing the hereditary nobility as a whole, therefore, it is not surprising that their position became increasingly anomalous. The crown had dispossessed them of their strong chateaux, their feudal troops and their jurisdiction, had curtailed their political and administrative authority until, literally uprooted, they became wards of the state. Nevertheless, their numbers grew and, owing partly to fixed incomes from land as well as to a considerable rise in the standard of comfort, their material needs multiplied. Many were financially ruined or faced ruination toward the end of the old regime.¹³ Hence new and more offices in the army, the marine, the church and at court, most of them sinecures, were created to constitute a vast system of outdoor relief for a defunct social class. With the progressive decay of their economic foundations, notably toward the end of the eighteenth century, the poorer gentlemen increased their social pretensions while at the same time intensifying seigneurial exploitation, and thus incurred a growing wave of popular antagonism.¹⁴ Inevitably the progressively competitive scramble for royal favor and preferment also accentuated social differentiation and inter-class conflicts with-

in the ranks of the hereditary nobility itself.

The summit of the French social hierarchy in the eighteenth century was represented by the "presented" nobility, that is, those who were privileged to go hunting with the king or ride in his carriages.¹⁵ This was the nobility of the court, properly speaking. Their number had grown enormously since the accession of Louis XVI.¹⁶ These gentlemen comprised the old and great families of France such as de Rohan, Périgord-Talleyrand, Clermont-Tonnerre, Polignac and Rochefoucauld, together with many lesser courtiers who had variously won royal grace. To this group were reserved the court functions and the higher posts in the army and in the church. This discrimination, together with the competition of the provincial nobility for preferment at court, in the church and in the military establishment, created an intense rivalry and hostility between these factions.¹⁷

Apart from the royal household¹⁸ where, by their very nature, the provincial nobility had little if any representation, the differentiation between the provincial and court nobility was perhaps greatest in the army. The French army of 1780 was top-heavy with an enormous staff of higher officers. Thus there were 16 marshals of France, 216 lieutenant generals, 528 marshals *de camp* and 466 brigadiers of all the armies.¹⁹ These general officers numbered more than the general officers of all the other European armies together and their maintenance cost the kingdom fifteen million livres annually, more than the salaries of all the rest of the officers in the active service.²⁰ These lucrative commissions depended more upon requests made for them than the exigencies of national defense. There were, in addition, 1132 colonels, barely 200 of whom served with their regiments. Yet all the colonels, captains and sub-lieutenants not serving with their regiments had the same rights to promotion and favors as those in the active service.

Many of these offices, onerous as they were useless, were created to give salaries and titles to their lordly incumbents. Thus there

were 39 governors-general who served no function and usually did not even reside in their respective provinces but most of whom received upwards of 60,000 livres annually. There were 62 lieutenant generals and 83 lieutenants of the king attached to these governments, to say nothing of 114 special governors, each with a considerable personnel of royal lieutenants, governors, commandants, majors, adjutants, etc. In the whole military establishment there were more than 35,000 officers of all grades, and of these scarcely 9500 were active with their regiments.²¹ All the higher offices in the army were open exclusively to the "presented" nobility.²² This led to strange anomalies, such as the appointment of the *duc de Fronsac* in 1743, when he was seven years old, to command a regiment, or the promotion of the marshals de Noailles and de Castries to a colonelship at seventeen. Efforts to end these abuses were made in 1759, 1776 and 1781 but they were protected too much by the traditions of the war department as well as by the prejudices of the king himself to be easily eradicated.

According to a royal decree of 1781, only gentlemen who could trace their peerage back four generations could be admitted to the army as cadets or sublieutenants. Those of this class who had been "presented" could be promoted without limit but those not so accepted had difficulty in rising even to a lieutenant-colonelship.²³ But even members of the great seigneurial families could not attain military preferment by rank or royal favor alone in the 1780's. Like many positions in the royal household, commissions in the army were for sale. Thus a captaincy in the French guards brought 24,000 livres.²⁴ Notwithstanding the royal decree of 1781, even commoners could buy commissions in this way, an operation which conferred a title of nobility; but rarely could they go beyond a captaincy. This caused bitter resentment, especially on the part of the provincial nobility who seldom had much money and thus had to work their way up.

The provincial gentlemen were greatly disturbed over the ease with which "presented" lords secured promotions as well as

over the considerable emoluments by way of salaries and pensions that went with general offices in the army. Most of the young sons of the provincial nobility spent their youth in military service. After serving for from ten to forty years, usually in subaltern offices, they normally received inferior local posts on the income from which they could barely exist. The great poverty of the young men from the lower ranks of the rural nobility and the contumely to which this circumstance commonly exposed them made it virtually impossible for these wretched people to enter the army at all. Moreover, while general officers in the regular service commonly received 10 to 12 thousand livres annually, colonels got 4,000, majors 3,120, a captain only 1,700, a lieutenant 950 and a sub-lieutenant only 720 livres. These salary scales prevailed only during campaigns and when peace was restored there was such pitiless cutting that a captain, lieutenant or sub-lieutenant would be lucky to receive 200-500 livres annually. Many subaltern officers were obliged to leave the regular army on the termination of hostilities and join the provincial regiments where they received very nominal salaries at best.²⁵ To make matters worse, in the 1780's the salary budgets for general officers were raised by millions while the income of sub-captains, for example, was reduced by 140 livres.²⁶ As for commoners as such, they could not rise beyond a captaincy and were able to attain that rank only by special dispensation.²⁷

The provincial nobility was ready to acknowledge the pre-eminence of the old noble families and chose to think of the French hereditary nobility as one great family, but they keenly resented these discriminations and the status of inferiority which they symbolized. In the cahiers of the nobility, in the framing of which subaltern officers had an important part, there was a universal and vigorous demand to curb the power and favor of the court nobility.²⁸ While the provincial nobility assailed the privileges of the "presented" lords they as vehemently denounced and rejected all equalitarian ideas of the bourgeoisie.

The social cleavages existing within the army were also reflected in the church. Until the eighteenth century the doors to the hierarchy in France were open to all. As a result of the concordat of Francis I, conceding the king's prerogative of nominating bishops, more and more nobles were elevated to the episcopacy. If we may believe Augeard, until the eighteenth century more than three fourths of the French sees were occupied by the bourgeoisie.²⁹ In the early part of the eighteenth century there were several bourgeois elevated to bishoprics but this practice was soon thereafter abandoned so that, on the eve of the Revolution, not one of the 130 bishops of France was a commoner.³⁰ Augeard states that under Louis XV and Louis XVI *lettres patent* were issued making ineligible for certain chapters of canons all those who could not "prove" three to five degrees of nobility.³¹ Thus, in the half century preceding the Revolution, the episcopacy became the exclusive appendage of gentlemen.

Inevitably, the most desirable sees went to the first families of France, those with great influence and standing at court. Thus one La Rochefoucauld was cardinal archbishop of Rouen and abbot of Cluny while two others held the bishoprics of Beauvais and Saintes. Alexandre-Angélique de Talleyrand-Périgord, uncle of the illustrious diplomat, held the bishopric of Reims while greater honors awaited him after the Revolution. The Montmorency-Laval family occupied the see of Metz. The Rohan-Guéménée house brought more social prestige than religious devotion to the dioceses of Strasbourg and Cambrai. The income of the cardinal bishop of Strasbourg was 400,000 livres annually, twice that of his Paris confrère. It is no wonder that this scion of the de Rohan family could buy Marie Antoinette a diamond necklace for 1,400,000 livres.³² The de Cicé house held both the bishopric of Auxerre and the archbishopric of Bordeaux. One Clermont-Tonnerre was bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne.³³ Certain episcopal sees had even been more or less hereditary in one family. Thus the Bonzi succeeded each other at Bé-

ziers for a century. Paris belonged to the Gondi house for several generations. Lucon had been held similarly by the Richelieu family.³⁴

While the best bishoprics and the highest honors went to the first families of the kingdom the lesser nobility needed every possible recommendation to secure even modest sees since the rivalry for them was very great. Thus the abbé de Bausset, a man of recognized merit but from the petty nobility, required the intervention of Boisgelin, archbishop of Aix, to secure the modest see of Alais. In the diocese of Rennes the bishop, with an annual income of 81,000 livres, lived in comparative ease while his canons, priors (he controlled 3 abbeys) and other dignitaries were in difficult circumstances.³⁵ Sicard asserts that in an assemblage of clergymen one could predict almost with mathematical accuracy the prospective promotions to the prelacy.³⁶ The pre-occupation of the former estates-general, of the assemblies of notables, the provincial estates and the various provincial administrations with the plight of the poor nobility which Sieyès cites, hence reaffirms the difficulties of this class.³⁷ The scramble for clerical preferment intensified simultaneously with the demands for relief from debts, pensions and military posts. Sicard cites the case of a gentleman who had the temerity to request a benefice for his second son on the fantastic grounds of the latter's providential birth at the same hour as the dauphin.³⁸

Although the hardships of the petty noblemen who had embraced an ecclesiastical career were very real, the primary cleavage within the church was between the upper and lower clergy, that is, between the privileged and the unprivileged.³⁹ This cleavage was especially intensified with the growing exclusiveness of the French prelacy in the course of the eighteenth century. Generally speaking, non-noble clergymen vegetated a long time in inferior posts where they engaged in a constant struggle for physical survival. As the grand vicar of Châlons pointed out during the drafting of the local cahier of the regular clergy, "the principles of the great abbots . . . are like those of the

upper clergy who look upon the curés as their wage servants who must be kept in poverty and ignorance so that they may be dominated more easily."⁴⁰ The elections of local assemblies in 1788 were very stormy, reflecting sharp divisions between the regular and secular clergy, between the upper and lower clergy, between abbots and bishops and monks and curés.⁴¹ Here too, the great prelates represented the upper nobility enjoying enormous incomes. Thus the 131 bishops and archbishops of France had a global income of over fourteen million livres, averaging more than 100,000 livres each.

Staunch champions of ultramontanism and implacable foes of Jansenism for a century and a half, the upper clergy pursued narrow class interests to the end of the old regime.⁴² Although there were still many flourishing abbeys on the eve of the Revolution, the eighteenth century brought adversity to the French regular clergy. They declined in number, in wealth and in reputation. The canons of cathedral chapters and the curés also encountered hard times. Naturally, the canons desired to preserve their chapters and all the curés demanded "a more equitable distribution of the church's property" in favor of the parishes and the poor. Instead of sharing the lavish income from their benefices, the upper clergy sought to solve the problem by merging parishes and reducing the number of priests when the need for more of them was clearly indicated. The canons, on their part, begged for the erection of asylums for the aged and indigent priests so as to end the plight of these respectable citizens which "afflicts the church and scandalizes France and Europe."

In Marseilles the bishop could not be troubled with the sorely neglected education of the curés nor with the spread of mendicancy which threatened to devour the city. In one cahier of the Marseilles clergy alone at least forty articles were omitted or suppressed.⁴³ There was so much precipitation in dealing with the lower clergy that it was deprived of a free and general assembly and the commissioners charged with drafting the cahier didn't even trouble to read all the

demands. Under the transparent pretext of imminent disorders the curés of this city were granted only three days to assemble and draft a cahier which the bishop declared in advance was not worth signing if it included "complaints against the upper clergy."⁴⁴

For all their power and pretension, there was probably less popular antagonism toward the court nobility on the eve of the Revolution than toward provincial confrères. This was owing partly to the pertinacity with which the rural gentlemen championed obsolete prerogatives and claims upon which their status rested during a period of mounting social tension. The provincial gentlemen were more immediately menaced by a new capitalistic order. Their fixed incomes made it increasingly difficult for them to make both ends meet in an era of rising prices while the court nobility enjoyed generous subsidies from the royal treasury. Essentially, however, the desperate plight of the provincial lords must be traced to the obsolete system of small-scale, share-cropping agriculture which prevailed in most of France on the eve of the Revolution and to the persistence of feudal social traditions which barred them from all economically productive labor.⁴⁵

While the court nobility had long abandoned the carrying of the sword, their provincial brethren still insisted upon exercising this right. Thus one Villette even urged the latter to carry pistols since "gunpowder must be used to protect the 'civilized' against the fury of the 'savages.'"⁴⁶ Then too, the philosophers of the eighteenth century strenuously sought to crystallize the growing class consciousness and direct it against those obvious symbols of social obsolescence.⁴⁷ As an English physician wrote from France in the middle 1780's, "a man may be *homme comme il faut* and yet be devoid of every quality which adorns human nature. There is no question that government leaves the middle and inferior ranks of life . . . exposed to the injustice and indolence of the great."⁴⁸

While many of the great nobility sought to identify themselves with men of letters, savants, artists and with the theatre, the

provincial nobility faced the difficult problem of social and economic survival alone. Thus in Brittany at the end of the old regime, many abusive customs and servitudes were revived. Corvées were extended, fraudulent measures employed, new exactions created and many obnoxious feudal usages revived.⁴⁹ While the Breton nobility sought to save itself in this way by the resurrection and intensification of feudal custom, the noblemen of Savoy, on the other hand, were compelled not only to surrender many privileges and exemptions but also were obliged to carry out costly renovations of their estates.⁵⁰ To make matters still worse, the latter were compelled to emancipate their serfs on terms unfavorable to themselves and all classes of the population were urged to subscribe funds necessary for this operation.⁵¹ As a consequence of these circumstances many Savoy noblemen were forced to sell their estates and see their incomes vanish with them.

Although they were among the poorest provinces in France, the conditions in Savoy and Brittany were by no means unique.⁵² The provincial nobility was gradually losing its hold upon the land, despite frequent efforts to restore feudal servitudes, and was being plunged further into debt.⁵³ Meanwhile the rising bourgeoisie became an important land-holding class, purchasing estates and parcels of land from penurious peasants and noblemen alike.⁵⁴ Provincial lords often were counselled to emigrate to the colonies but it was precisely their poverty which militated against their success as settlers. Their fortunes might have been rehabilitated by trade or industry but the court nobility had better access to the favor and privilege which were so important to the success of these enterprises. Some provincial noblemen did become active in the cloth industry, shipping or mining, but those cases were exceptional.⁵⁵ Marrying into families of trade or finance might have restored some of their prestige and wealth had not a wide chasm of mutual antagonism divided these classes. The upper bourgeoisie, on the other hand, had only contempt for the feudal-minded rural nobility. When they sought to enhance their social

lustre the men of finance either purchased offices conferring titles or married directly into the court nobility as in the case of the duchess of Choiseul and the countess de Brienne.⁵⁶

Notwithstanding the progressive pauperization of a large part of the nobility of the sword, titles of nobility continued to be eagerly sought after for the social prestige, political opportunities and economic immunities which they conferred. Thus in the various provincial assemblies which were set up in 1779 to replace the ancient local estates there were a great many newly ennobled gentlemen.⁵⁷ The ranks of the nobility grew considerably in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The fiscal exigencies of the government during that period resulted in the extensive sale of titles. Thus between 1696 and 1712 some 800 *lettres patent* of nobility were sold.⁵⁸ Chérin estimated that there were 6,000 families enjoying purchased titles in 1789. Nearly all of these came out of the upper bourgeoisie, notably finance, and while some owed their titles to possession of lordships,⁵⁹ others, like the great Bernard family, bought a sinecure which automatically conferred title.

Naturally, these novitiates were regarded askance by the arrogant provincial nobility, a sentiment which was heartily reciprocated, although their social relations with the privileged at court were often very intimate.⁶⁰ As Sieyès expressed it, "The old nobility cannot tolerate the new nobles; it does not permit them to sit with it save where they can show four generations in a hundred years and thus they are thrust back into the third estate. Evidently they don't belong anymore."⁶¹ If we may believe de Tocqueville, the cahiers of the third estate were even more critical of these ennobled gentlemen than of the hereditary nobility and, far from demanding freer access to the privileged order, they were anxious to curtail these elevations.⁶² They were hated and envied for their wealth and pretension both by the country gentry and the bourgeoisie and were technically excluded from commands in the army by the decree of 1781.⁶³

Aside from the gentlemen enjoying titles procured in this way, there was also a numerous administrative and judicial nobility. These were said to include no fewer than 8,000 families in 1789.⁶⁴ Holding magisterial and administrative offices throughout the kingdom, these men wielded great power. In the course of the sixteenth century the offices in *parlements* became venal and their venality often resulted in the virtual hereditary transmission of functions and titles. Thus the nobility of the robe in fact became a caste, powerful and entrenched.

Since 1600 the *esprit de corps* of this class had grown with its greed and avarice. Often these magistrates manifested a colossal ignorance of the law, frequently disregarding old and venerated traditions and showing an indecent love of money, luxury and coarse living.⁶⁵ Among the great parliamentary families of France were Daguesseau, Lamoignon, d'Ormesson and Moté. The offices which they occupied usually commanded a high price. Thus a vice-presidency of the *parlement* of Paris went for 350,000 livres, a commission of requests for 15,000 livres, a presidency of a provincial *parlement* for from 100,000 to 450,000 livres while that of Paris brought 800,000 livres.⁶⁶ Their salaries were ridiculously small by comparison. Thus while the office of *Juge-Mage* was sold for 20,000 livres and that of criminal lieutenant for 10,000 livres, their respective salaries were 600 and 400 livres annually, with the inevitable result that justice was manipulated in terms of pecuniary considerations.⁶⁷ With these "gifts" which they received from grateful litigants these gentlemen of the robe reimbursed themselves or purchased estates to become a territorial aristocracy as haughty and egotistic as they were devoid of any sense of civic responsibility.

As in the case of holders of purchased titles, the administrative and judicial nobility came out of the upper bourgeoisie, a circumstance which did not prevent them from cultivating a sense of class solidarity. Not accepted on a basis of social equality by the old nobility of the sword, these *nouveau venu* nevertheless wielded great power and in-

fluence and enjoyed substantial immunities. Like the *nouveau venu* everywhere, their pretensions and arrogance grew with their wealth and power and estrangement from the unprivileged. Although occasionally responsive to local sentiment on political issues, the callousness and grasping proclivities of this class earned them widespread obloquy. Thus in Brittany, toward the end of 1789, the lawyers and procurers excited the peasants not only to pillage local chateaux but especially to attack the homes of the judges.⁶⁸

Class cleavages were traditional in France, but it was not until notably after 1750 that the hostility to privilege and the privileged classes became acute.⁶⁹ Inevitably, this sentiment was directed primarily against the nobility of the sword, intensified as it was by economic pressures brought to bear upon this class itself. For some time the popular fury was oriented primarily toward the titled at court because they were most closely associated with what seemed to be a regime of privilege, injustice and oppression; especially was this true after the attempted flight of the king and the movement of the *émigrés*. However, already in 1789 there was a pronounced class division between all have-nots and haves and the term "aristocrat" popularly denoted great lords, simple gentlemen, magistrates of the sovereign courts, financiers, merchants, *émigrés*, the rich and all those supporting any of these. The bulk of the gentry as mostly poor folk were seen as victims of the great and rich by the Parisian mobs who did not feel the sting of the former's usurpations and insolence. Already before the end of that year, however, the provincial nobility too began to feel the impact of popular indignation in the form of widespread attacks on chateaux, burning of records and the guillotine.

It was not long before the infuriated and blinded masses also attacked the gentlemen of the robe. The nobles of the sword were soon followed to the guillotine by this class.⁷⁰ Thus the parlement of Grenoble and the provincial council of Artois each lost one magistrate to the guillotine, the parlements of Metz, Rennes and Rouen each three, the parle-

ment of Aix six, the parlement of Dijon nine, the parlement of Bordeaux twenty-six, the parlement of Paris thirty and the parlement of Toulouse fifty-five.⁷¹ A large number of the great lords, both lay and ecclesiastical, left France to find refuge elsewhere, only to suffer the confiscation of property the destitution and anguish that is the lot of all exiles.⁷²

⁶⁸ Henri Sée, *La Vie économique et les Classes sociales en France au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1924), p. 127. Cf. also A. M. Arnould, *De la Balance du Commerce* (Paris, 1795), I, pp. 261-265.

⁶⁹ Strictly speaking, access to the nobility was comparatively easy by 1789, but "gentlemen" who could not trace their genteel lineage back four generations were not "accepted by the old nobility of the sword and enjoyed only limited privileges, notwithstanding their titles. An edict of 1781 introduced the four-generations test into the army commands. The same test had been applied to the episcopacy since early in the century. Thus, as Ducros has pointed out, "the French nobility in the eighteenth century ceased to be an aristocracy and was rapidly becoming a caste." Cf. Louis Ducros, *La Société française au dix huitième siècle* (Paris, 1922), p. 53.

⁷⁰ Various writers emphasize different cleavages among the nobility. Thus Montesquieu observed that "there are three kinds of estates in France, the church, the sword and the robe. Each one has a thorough contempt for the two others." Cf. *Lettres Persanes*, ed. by Henri Barckhausen (Paris, 1913), I, p. 80. François Dominique Reynaud de Montlosier speaks of three classes of nobles also; those tracing their peerage back to 1400, those who cannot do so but still pretend to be nobles by origin and those ennobled who occupy a status apart from both the former. Cf. *Mémoires* (Paris, 1830), I, p. 152. Talleyrand mentions a nobility of the robe, of the sword, of the court, of the province, the old and the new and the great and the petty nobility. Cf. *Mémoires* (Paris, 1891-1892), I, p. 116.

⁷¹ The titles purchased by letters patent were usually revoked sooner or later, but other non-hereditary titles were also often subject to revocation. Thus an edict of 1715 suppressed all ennoblements made since 1689. Cf. Louis Nicolas Henri Chérin, *La Noblesse considérée sous ses divers Rapports* (Paris, 1788), p. 93.

⁷² Jules-Marie Richard, *La Vie privée dans une Province de l'Ouest* (Paris, 1922), p. 308.

⁷³ Henri Lévy-Bruhl, "La Noblesse de France et le Commerce à la fin de l'ancien Régime," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne* (1933), p. 210.

⁷⁴ A. L. Lavoisier, in his *Statistique Agricole et Projets de Réformes* (Paris, no date, but probably about 1795), p. 115, estimated that there were 83,000 nobles in France in 1789. H. Taine, in his *Les Origines de la France Contemporaine* (Paris, 1876), Tome I, p. 17, puts their number at 140,000. The Abbé Coyer, writing about 1750, estimated their total number at about 360,000. Cf. Gabriel Coyer, *La Noblesse Commercante* (London, 1756), p. 35. Sieyès, writing in 1789, estimated the privileged in

France at 200,000, although this would include the upper clergy. Cf. Joseph Emmanuel Sieyès, *Essai sur les Privilèges* (Paris, 1789), p. 9.

⁸ Ducros, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁹ Chérin, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁰ Chérin, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

¹¹ Lévy-Bruhl, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

¹² There were several poor provinces such as Brittany and Burgundy where noblemen might engage in retail business without any fear of social stigma.

¹³ Coyer, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹⁴ Henri Carré, *La Noblesse et l'Opinion publique au XVIII^e Siècle* (Paris, 1920), p. 589. For an excellent study of the evils of absentee landlordism and the usurpations of stewards and farm agents toward the end of the old regime see A. de Beaujoulais Soulgé, *Le Régime Féodal et la Propriété Paysanne* (Paris, 1923), especially pp. 150-151.

¹⁵ For women "acceptance" entailed admission to the queen's formal dances and clubs (*cercles*), the privilege of displaying distinctive insignia on their carriages and of covering their carriages with mourning cloth when the king did so, to be embraced by the king when "presented", etc. To be received in this way it was necessary to "prove" genteel lineage since 1400 but this was commonly circumvented by various subterfuges and the king could make exceptions. Cf. *Mémoires de la Baronne d'Oberkirch*, ed. by Léonce de Montbrison (Paris, 1883), II, pp. 92, 93.

¹⁶ L. Hartman, *Les Officiers de l'Armée Royale et la Révolution* (Paris, 1910), p. 6.

¹⁷ Some provinces had unique social cleavages. Thus the *baronne* d'Oberkirch mentions two principal orders of nobility in Lorraine. The four chief families of the province were known as the *Grands-chevaux* while the families tracing their maternal descent from these were called *Petits-chevaux*. Cf. *Mémoires*, I, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

¹⁸ Thus 1,200,000 livres were granted in 1782 to the *duc de Polignac* while the king's brother, the count of Artois, received 6,600,000 livres during the years 1783-1785. Cf. *De Livre Rouge* (Paris, 1793), *troisième registre*, pp. 31-42.

¹⁹ *Almanach Royal*, ed. by Laurent d'Houry (no place, 1788), pp. 156-165.

²⁰ According to Necker, the French annual budget (presumably for the early 1780's) for officers was 46,400,000 livres, that for soldiers 44,100,000 livres. Cf. Jacques Necker, *De l'Administration des Finances de la France* (no place, 1784), II, p. 247.

²¹ Hartman, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁵ Pierre de Vassière, *Gentilshommes Campagnards de l'Ancienne France* (Paris, 1903), pp. 313-318.

²⁶ Hartman, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

²⁷ Commoners were formally admitted to offices in the army by an edict of 1750 but this regulation was virtually nullified by the subsequent edicts of 1781 and 1788 requiring the test of four generations.

²⁸ Hartman, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

²⁹ *Mémoires secrets de Jacques Mathieu Augeard* (Paris, 1866), p. 345.

³⁰ L'Abbé Augustin Sicard, *L'Ancien Clergé de France* (Paris, 1905), I, p. 6.

³¹ *Mémoires secrets de Jacques Mathieu Augeard*, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

³² Taine, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

³³ *Almanach Royal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-67.

³⁴ L'Abbé Augustin Sicard, *L'Ancien Clergé de France* (Paris, 1905), I, pp. 2ff.

³⁵ Armand Rebillon, *La Situation économique du clergé à la veille de la Révolution dans les districts de Rennes, de Fougères et de Vitry* (Rennes, 1912), pp. lxxxiv-xcv.

³⁶ Sicard, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

³⁷ Joseph Emmanuel Sieyès, *Essai sur les Privilèges* (Paris, 1789), p. 45.

³⁸ Sicard, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

³⁹ C. L. Chassin, *Les Cahiers des Curés* (Paris, 1882), p. 202.

⁴⁰ Jean Wallon, *Le Clergé de Quatre-vingt-neuf* (Paris, 1876), p. 217.

⁴¹ Thus there were chosen to the estates-general of 1789, 47 bishops, 208 curés and 35 abbots or canons who together comprised the first estate. Cf. Edmond Biré, *Le Clergé de France pendant la Révolution* (Lyon, 1901), p. 9.

⁴² There were many Jansenists among the lower clergy as there were among the artisan and bourgeois classes. Jansenism was a prolific cause of conflict between the hierarchy, which uniformly opposed the movement and refused religious rites to "heretics," and the local *parlements* which frequently intervened to enforce the due administration of these rites. *Lettres de cachet* in 1752 closed the last Jansenist convents which were favorite havens of refuge for daughters of the bourgeoisie. Cf. A. Bardoux, *La Bourgeoisie Française* (Paris, 1886), p. 12.

⁴³ Wallon, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁴⁵ Vassière, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

⁴⁶ Carré, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

⁴⁷ H. Bergman, et al, *La Vie parisienne au XVIII^e Siècle* (Paris, 1914), p. 291.

⁴⁸ John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland and Germany* (6th edition, London, 1786), I, p. 32.

⁴⁹ Henri Sée, "Les Classes rurales en Bretagne du XVI^e siècle à la Révolution," *Annales de Bretagne* (1906), p. 56.

⁵⁰ Max Bruchet, *L'Abolition des Droits seigneuriaux en Savoie, Collection de Documents inédits* (Annecy, 1908) pp. 233-235.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 266-268.

⁵² Maxime Kovalevsky, *La France Economique et Sociale à la Veille de la Révolution* (Paris, 1911), II, pp. 302-303.

⁵³ Writing in 1756, the Abbé Coyer observed that a growing wretchedness and poverty afflicted the bulk of the old nobility. Cf. Coyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

⁵⁴ N. Karéïew, *Les Paysans et la Question Paysanne en France dans le dernier Quart du XVIII^e Siècle* (Paris, 1899), p. 531.

⁵⁵ F. Bourdais, "Un Gentilhomme manufacturier au XVIII^e siècle," *Revue de Bretagne* (1909), pp. 12 ff. Mercier stated, toward the end of the 18th century, that the dowry of nearly all the spouses of the great seigneurs came from the funds of the gen-

eral farms. Cf. Ernest Bertin, *Les Mariages dans l'Ancienne Société française* (Paris, 1879).

⁶⁶ Carré, *op. cit.*, p. 591.

⁶⁷ Léonce de Lavergne, *Les Assemblées provinciales sous Louis XVI* (Paris, 1864), p. 73.

⁶⁸ Vic. de Broc, *La France sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1887), I, p. 353.

⁶⁹ The practice of commoners purchasing lordships long antedated 1614 when the usage received official sanction.

⁷⁰ Carré, *op. cit.*, p. 591.

⁷¹ Joseph Emmanuel Sieyès, *Qu'est-ce que le tiers État?* (Paris, 1789), p. 73.

⁷² Alexis de Tocqueville, *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution* (Paris, 1866), p. 154.

⁷³ As we have seen, they were similarly excluded from the episcopacy and from the sovereign courts. Cf. Augeard, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

⁷⁴ Cited by Werner Sombart, *Der Moderne Kapitalismus* (5th edition, Munich and Leipzig, 1922), I, p. 856.

⁷⁵ Charles Normand, *La Bourgeoisie Française au XVIIe Siècle* (Paris, 1908), p. 14.

⁷⁶ Marcel Marion, *Dictionnaire des Institutions de*

la France au XVIIe et XVIIIe Siècles (Paris, 1923), p. 432.

⁷⁷ Paul de Casteras, *Histoire de la Révolution française dans le Pays de Foix* (Paris, 1876), p. 18.

⁷⁸ Carré, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

⁷⁹ Reynaud de Montlosier, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1830), I, p. 152.

⁸⁰ This is not to suggest that those fractions of the nobility were by any means totally exterminated but rather to indicate the progression of revolutionary class-consciousness.

⁸¹ Carré, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁸² In due time great numbers of clergy were proscribed, chiefly in consequence of their defiance of the new constitution. There were three waves of clerical migration, one in 1792, a second and third in 1794 and 1795. Sicard estimates that some 40,000 clergy left France during the Revolution. Of these 10,000 were estimated to have gone to England while 6,000 found a haven in Switzerland and some 5,000 were received in the papal states. Among the clerical emigrés were the bulk of the prelates who were thus doubly suspect. Cf. Sicard, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 15ff

Curriculum Improvement in Social Studies

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About five years ago, the professional staff of Upper Moreland School District became convinced that their social studies curriculum was far too nebulous and vague in its then existent form. At this time it was deemed wise to appoint a committee of teachers and administrators to explore, gather facts and put in writing their findings. This committee was able to gather materials and make recommendations for future committees.

Two years later, a committee consisting of three intermediate teachers, from each of the three elementary schools, and two administrators began work to build a social studies curriculum that would meet the pe-

culiar needs of children living in Upper Moreland Township. It was the intention of the committee to provide a guide which would insure that every child passing through our schools would be familiar, and be able to cope with a fair degree of success, with their immediate environment as well as the more remote areas of county, state, nation and world.

In order to do this and still insure flexibility and teaching freedom it was decided that the material covered in certain areas at each of the intermediate grade levels should be made mandatory with the hope that teachers would feel free to go beyond in scope and sequence whenever they thought it profitable. This type of guide is known as the continu-

ing theme method of organization. For example, the intermediate grades are expected to cover specific material concerning Upper Moreland Township, however, only on the grade level of their pupils. After this is accomplished they then branch out into the other specific areas assigned to their grade. This type of approach is based on the theory that children learn best by going from the whole to the part or from the general to the particular. The unit method of study is also encouraged and a teacher can cover the required areas by using as many units as he sees fit. No grade has more than four areas assigned for a year's work. To illustrate more specifically, the areas to be studied in the fourth grade, are: Upper Moreland Township; Montgomery County; Pennsylvania; and Relationship of Township, County, and State to the United States.

The continuing themes that all grades are expected to cover as they relate to each area of study are six:

1. Practical adjustment to local environment and society
2. History
3. Social Processes
4. Geography
5. Science
6. Current Events

By using this continuing theme development the committee felt that it was possible to treat each area in every educational aspect with the greatest amount of thoroughness and efficiency.

After a year's work by the committee, one administrator spent the month of August compiling, editing and gathering supplementary material for the finished product. At the end of the year this committee was released and one from the primary grades set up with the same kind of teacher representation. After another year's work a guide for grades one to three was developed. The committee recognized, that, unlike the intermediate grades, primary social studies must be taught informally, but still with definite goals firmly in mind. Therefore, the primary guide was not designed for the purpose of teaching specific subject matter but rather for the

provision of rich and meaningful learning experiences that are appropriate to the pupils' needs, interests and abilities. Again the committee felt that the primary emphasis of making a satisfactory adjustment to one's environment is of paramount importance. In general, the following outline is adhered to with the material covered becoming more complex in each succeeding primary grade:

1. Health and Safety
2. How to Live Happily at Home
3. How to Live Happily at School
4. Participating in Recreation
5. How to Understand our Natural Environment
6. Things to Know About Our Community
7. How Do We Tell Others What We Think?
8. How Do We Move People and Things from One Place to Another?
9. Production, Distribution and Consumption of Goods
10. Holidays and What They Mean To Us

In addition, each of these headings has under it many topics that are designed to give helpful ideas to the teacher. Again these are in conformity with the grade level.

The compilation of these two guides was a large undertaking but the committee felt that the job was still incomplete since few or any textbooks could be obtained to be used in connection with certain areas of these guides. Therefore they took the responsibility of supplying as much resource and supplemental material as possible. Once again an administrator was assigned the Summer responsibility of gathering this material. As a result, sample units for each grade level were designed and lists of available encyclopedias and textbooks with the volumes and specific pages that related to the subject areas to be covered were compiled. These supplemental materials have proved invaluable to this entire program.

In addition to this work that lasted two years it was decided to go one step further and build a testing program for the intermediate grades. Since no test was in existence that would meet our need, another representative committee was set up and work began

on the testing phase of our program. Since the entire program was based on teacher-inspired philosophy and need, it was decided to ask each intermediate teacher to submit what she thought to be the twenty most important questions her students should be able to answer at the end of a year's study. These questions were sorted, evaluated and duplications eliminated. After two trips by the Committee Chairman to the Educational Testing Service in Princeton, N. J. for consultation and advice, a test covering each basic area of the guide was constructed for each inter-

mediate grade level. The committee has designated the month of May as the time when these tests will be given. The specific time of administration will be decided by the individual teacher.

Since this guide has only been available to our teachers for about one year it is impossible to completely evaluate the worth of the total program. However, judging from teacher reaction, there seems to be ample proof that our staff is enjoying the security afforded them by this definite but yet flexible philosophy of education in the Social Studies.

Income Taxation and the Desire to Work

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For many years both the United States and Great Britain have relied upon the personal income tax to provide the major part of the funds required for the operation of their national governments. As a result of the tremendous expenditures needed for the prosecution of World War II both countries were compelled to increase the rates of their taxes to the very high levels where they remain even today in order to finance the defense efforts of the Cold War period. In each case the rate structures are progressive—that is successive additions to income are taxed at increasing percentages. In Britain the rates run from 18.5 per cent on income in the \$1,120 to \$1,680 bracket, to 92.5 per cent on all income in excess of \$56,000. The 50 per cent plus bracket is reached at \$5,670. In the United States the lowest bracket, 0-\$2,000 of taxable income after exemptions and deductions, is taxed at 20 per cent and the highest, over \$200,000, at 91 per cent. In this country, however, the 50 per cent bracket is not reached until taxable income amounts to \$16,000 for single individuals and \$32,000 for married couples. Although the tax burdens become more oppressive at

lower income levels in Britain than in the United States, the rates in this country cannot be considered moderate. Consequently it is not surprising that the influence of high personal income taxes upon incentives has been the subject of considerable discussion both rational and emotional. There are in fact two facets to the problem. The first deals with the effect upon the supply of capital while the second is concerned with the influence which the tax exerts upon the willingness of individuals to offer their personal services upon the market. This paper will be concerned with the latter issue.

In most popular treatments of this subject the income tax is viewed as a powerful force which brings about a substantial reduction in the incentive to work. The usual line of reasoning runs as follows. The income tax decreases the net amount of remuneration which the individual retains as a result of working. As a result of this diminution in net compensation most individuals are expected to reduce the amount of work that they will try to do. The enjoyment of leisure, the alternative to work, has in effect become cheaper because less income (after tax)

must be foregone in order to enjoy it. Consequently many people are envisioned as electing more leisure and in the process curtailing the amount of work that they do. This of course results in a reduction of the supply of labor. Since the progressive rates bear most heavily upon more highly paid occupations this effect presumably is encountered most frequently among such pursuits. Those who follow this line of reasoning to its logical conclusion often see a serious threat to the pattern of motivation upon which the free enterprise system is supposedly based.

Despite the persuasiveness of the above argument the results anticipated do not necessarily ensue. In the first place many people are not free to determine the amount of work they will do. Hours per day, days per week, and weeks per year for most employees are fixed either by custom or by company regulation. Hence the secretary is not free to leave work an hour earlier because of tax any more than the comptroller of the concern can choose to fill his position for only eight months of the year for similar reasons. Even self-employed persons are by no means completely at liberty to accept or reject extra business. Attention must always be given to the preservation or improvement of the practice or business. An attorney in most instances cannot discontinue litigation once underway, a doctor ordinarily will not refuse to treat a regular patient, or an accountant would be reluctant to turn down a prospect referred from a regular source merely to achieve a neat adjustment of the amount of work he does to the tax he pays.

Even if the individual were free to vary his productive effort as he saw fit his reaction to high income taxation might differ considerably from that which the usual argument suggests. In the process of reducing the net compensation from work the income tax necessarily reduces the worker's income. In so doing it may lower his standard of living to an undesirable or perhaps even unbearable extent. In many instances the worker may have fixed commitments, such

as mortgage payments and insurance which are not altered easily in response to the tax. Under such circumstances the tax induced motivation will be toward more work in order to restore the necessary income. In other words the individual will be forced to work longer so that he can both pay his tax and maintain his way of life. The ultimate influence of high income taxes upon the supply of effort depends upon the relative frequency of occurrence of this type of reaction as opposed to the one usually anticipated.

On logical grounds one would expect members of lower income groups to respond to high taxation by increasing their efforts while those at high income levels presumably would reduce the quantity of the services which they supply. This seemingly follows because the standard of living of low income groups is more easily threatened and consequently they alone would need to work harder to protect their way of life. More opulent individuals presumably would react in the manner usually envisioned. Empirical evidence now available bears out this conclusion only in part. All important studies indicate that industrial workers and members of other lower income groups typically respond to a reduction of their incomes if at all by attempting to increase the amount of the services which they supply.¹ Consequently for these groups income taxation apparently constitutes an incentive to increased effort. The evidence concerning the influence upon those in higher income brackets is by no means so clear. A study of the response of business executives to taxation noted that some younger executives are motivated to increased efforts when high income taxes thwart their attempts to emulate the living standards of their elders. Others, however, become resigned to lower levels and reduce their efforts to earn money income.² A study of the influence of income taxes upon seven surgeons brought to light only such unimportant effects as a tendency to combine vacations with trips to medical conferences more frequently than before and to spend more lavishly on equipment and

furnishings." Perhaps the most exhaustive investigation of this matter was undertaken by a University of California Professor, George F. Break, who personally interviewed 306 lawyers and accountants selected at random from the greater London area. This group was chosen for two reasons; first being self-employed professional men they were free to control the amount of services which they supplied, and second they were subject to very high progressive rates. Under such conditions tax-induced reduction in the supply of service could most easily manifest itself. Surprisingly enough, in only 71 instances out of 306, or 23% of the cases, was there definite evidence that taxation had influenced the quantity of services supplied. Contrary to what might be expected, in 31 of these cases the tax had stimulated the respondents to increased effort. In the remaining 40 instances definite tax disincentives were discovered.⁴ This study therefore suggests that in most instances the high income tax rates produce little or no effect in the amount of effort supplied and that in those cases where the tax creates incentives or disincentives the net effect on the labor supply is not clear.

Although available empirical information would seem to indicate that high progressive

tax rates are the source of much more complaint and vituperation than they are of distortion in the pattern of incentives to supply services, a word of caution is in order. It is difficult to measure the influence of taxation upon incentives. It is indeed possible that some significant aspects of this problem may have eluded the investigators cited above. In addition over the long run taxation may affect the choice of occupation by encouraging the choice of relatively low paying but highly pleasant jobs in preference to more lucrative (and highly taxed) but less satisfying pursuits. Such shifts could have far reaching repercussions. Finally as noted at the outset income taxation may exert influence upon the formation and distribution of capital which although beyond the scope of this paper might be of critical importance.

¹ For a list of these studies and their conclusions see Break, G. F., "Income Taxes, Wage Rates, and the Incentive to Supply Labor Services," *National Tax Journal*, Dec. 1953, pp. 350-351.

² Sanders, T. H., *Effects of Taxation on Executives*, Boston, 1951.

³ Davidson, Robert, "Income Taxes and Incentive, The Doctor's View," *National Tax Journal*, September, 1953.

⁴ Break, G. F., "Income Taxes and Incentives to Work, An Empirical Study," *American Economic Review*, September, 1957.

It's More Than Bones And Old Stones

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Whenever the word "anthropology" is mentioned, the average citizen today immediately classifies it with herpetology, ornithology and several other "ologies" he can't identify, or vaguely recognizes it as the "study of bones and old stones." Use the word "sociology" and he knows what you mean—Junior takes it in high school or average citizen himself has taken it in college—but

anthropology is another matter. This lack of recognition and understanding is unfortunate, because anthropology has much to offer in telling man about himself—why he appears, thinks and behaves the way he does.

When we analyze the word "anthropology" we find that it means "the study of man." It is the only science so ambitious as to choose as its field of investigation the total study of

mankind, its past, present and future. In the pursuit of this knowledge, anthropologists, who realize there is strength in specialization, have grouped themselves into two general divisions—physical anthropologists and cultural anthropologists. The former group studies man's prehistoric physical development, his racial divisions and the effects of man's physical environment on his bodily characteristics. The latter studies all the many customs and ways of life of mankind. Many of the cultures which anthropologists study have long since become extinct, and it is therefore necessary to reconstruct the form of these societies through archeology.

Traditionally, anthropologists have limited themselves to the study of primitive or non-literate peoples—those of Africa, the South Seas or aboriginal America, where, because life is perhaps less complex, the basic aspects of man's human nature can best be studied. In recent years, however, the field has been broadened to include studies of more complex cultures such as those of Soviet Russia, Japan, France and the United States.

Because anthropology embraces all phases of the study of man it offers knowledge of mankind that cannot be imparted by any other single science. Furthermore, it often gives valuable background information that is prerequisite to other social sciences.

Sociology, which is widely taught in American high schools, gives us information concerning man's behavior in social groups, but tells us little of the historical development of his culture which often determines the rules for social behavior. Moreover, it concentrates on American or Western culture and often neglects the valuable insights which can be derived from cross-cultural comparisons.

Economics provides valuable knowledge concerning man's efforts at making a living but because it does not study the whole man, tells us little of how economics is related to religion, the structure of the family or to man's artistic interests.

History, which is required in nearly all secondary schools, provides valuable understanding of the past and how it has influenced our way of life (if its emphasis is on

more than isolated events and dates) but it tells us little of the history of the American Indian, the African or any other non-European society. Until we can build a fence around the Western world this will not do.

Perhaps anthropology's greatest contribution lies in its ability to give us greater understanding of our own way of life by providing examples of other cultures with which it can be compared.

Some years ago the famous French author André Gide wrote a book entitled *The Counterfeiters* in which he has his characters engaged in a scientific discussion about a certain fish that, due to its physical structure, is not able to rise to the surface, nor is it able to descend to the bottom of the ocean. Such a fish, you will realize, has no knowledge of its surroundings. It doesn't know that it is swimming in water because it has never seen anything else. It has never experienced either sand or air. Many of us are in the same situation. We have no understanding or insight into our own way of life, because we have never been exposed to any other. Besides being ignorant of the meaning and form of our culture our lack of such knowledge tends to foster the belief that our way is the only way of doing things, and is therefore superior to any alternative plan. Such an attitude does little to promote universal understanding and cooperation, and fear and hostility breed in an atmosphere where mutual respect and understanding are lacking.

Considering what the science of anthropology can offer to the young person who must learn to understand and respect other ways of life and patterns of thought in a rapidly shrinking world, it is unfortunate that its knowledge is available to only a small minority who attend our larger colleges and universities. To my knowledge, anthropology is not offered in a single public secondary school, although a few private high schools now include it in their curriculum. For the first time a number of fine books are available as texts and collateral reading. Examples of suitable texts are Ashley Montagu's *Man: His First Million Years*, Irvin Block's *People* or Clyde Kluckhohn's *Mirror For*

Man. In addition to these, a number of authors have acquainted us with other cultures through semi-fictional accounts aimed at the high school level. Sonia Bleeker's *The Sea Hunters*, *Indians of the Longhouse*, *The Apache Indians* or Chester Osborne's *The First Bow and Arrow* and *The First Lake Dwellers* are but a few examples of the many fine books of this type. Any educator will recognize the appeal of such books.

Aside from the necessary reading materials, a number of qualified people would be available as teachers. At the present time the major in anthropology has little or no outlet for his training. If he enters teaching he must switch to sociology. Even the anthropologist holding a master's degree has a difficult task finding a teaching position in his own field on the college level. Many fine anthropologists who do not have the opportunity of going on for doctorates are merely wasted. Such well trained personnel could be used to great advantage by high schools which perhaps are experiencing difficulty in filling

their ranks with qualified and enthusiastic teachers.

What specifically has the field of anthropology to offer both the student preparing for college and the student who will terminate his education with high school? Anthropology will provide:

- an understanding of all ways of life
- a respect for the rights and beliefs of others
- a scientific basis for the evaluation of races
- a knowledge of what constitutes personality and how it influences and is influenced by culture
- a further understanding of our own way of life and its institutions.

Anthropology is more than just the study of "bones and old stones." It is a discipline vital to the twentieth century. It could greatly benefit our young people who must learn to live with the whole world. Today more than ever before it seems imperative to study and understand *homo sapiens* before we, through ignorance, render him extinct.

Who Were the Cattle Rustlers? A Look at the Johnson County War in Wyoming

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In the study of human affairs it is often difficult to ascertain the truth, since so many writers have axes to grind. Hence to maintain objectivity it is one of the axioms of historical study that the student should not be content with one or two one-sided accounts, but that he should study both sides or all sides of a question, should dig for primary sources, and should weigh or balance extreme opinions against each other.

But though the history of civilized human society is replete with examples of extralegal justice—from the murder of the Gracchi brothers in ancient Rome to vigilante hangings in the 19th century American West—most of the accounts of these happenings were written by those sympathetic to the executioners; the victims, being dead, cannot speak, and being defeated, find few supporters. It is very difficult to get both sides

in such a situation. Who speaks for the "disreputable elements" of the West who were hung from so many trees and lampposts? Who speaks for Catiline?

The story of the Johnson County War in Wyoming is essentially a familiar story of vigilante justice in the West. The unique thing about it is that the victims owned a newspaper, the *Buffalo Bulletin*, in the town of Buffalo in Johnson county. They were able to present their side of the story at some length.

The would-be executioners complained about cattle rustling, and they claimed that, due to the laxity of the courts, peace and order required the application of extra-legal justice. Their side of the story has become the dominant one, and their version of cattle rustling has been the version which has pervaded our western literature, movies and television plays. Therefore a study of the *Buffalo Bulletin* and other newspapers of those momentous days of 1892 perhaps can throw new light on western cattle rustling in particular and the whole issue of vigilante justice in general and give us the often elusive "other side of the question."

The main outlines of the story are not complicated. The cattle industry in Wyoming and surrounding states was built on the apparent truths that since grass was free on the public lands of the Great Plains area, and since cattle naturally multiply, all one would have to do would be to turn a few cattle loose on the public range and then sit back in a saloon and watch the money roll in. Unforeseen problems arose when too many people got the same idea and the range became overstocked; when government officials protested the appropriation of federal land which had not been purchased; when homesteaders and sheep ranchers moved in; when severe blizzards caused the death of thousands of cattle—and when some enterprising cowboys turned to cattle rustling.

Wealthy members of the Wyoming Stockgrowers Association, convinced that the orderly processes of law were not sufficient to protect their stock from rustlers, began to turn to extra-legal assassination and vio-

lence. Cattle Kate, a prostitute who had been receiving cattle in payment for her services, and her friend James Averill, were lynched. Two men in Johnson county, Tisdale and Jones, were shot. Many veiled and some open threats were made against Johnson county men suspected of rustling.

Ranchers and farmers in Johnson county claimed that they were legitimate small operators who were being accused of thievery by the Association in order to drive them out of business and maintain a monopoly on the cattle business by Association members. They charged also that managers of huge foreign-owned ranches turned to the charge of thievery when profits began to fall—in order to cover up for their own managerial inefficiency.

The conflict came to a head in the spring of 1892 when Johnson county made plans for a separate and illegal roundup. The roundup of cattle on the range was supposed to be a state-wide operation conducted by the Wyoming Stockgrowers Association, according to the law, but the small operators in Johnson county claimed their cattle were being stolen from them in these legal roundups. They decided to conduct their own roundup in May.

Some of the owners of large operations hired fifty gunmen from Texas and moved north to Johnson county in April with the object of killing about seventy men. They succeeded in killing only two suspected rustlers, Nathan Champion and Nick Ray, when the citizens of the county became aroused over the "invasion" and surrounded the posse, besieged them in a barn, and prepared to burn down the barn and kill all the members of the group. President Harrison was aroused from his bed in the dead of night and telegraphed orders for the U. S. Army to intervene. The posse, which included some of the most prominent men in the state, including the state senator from Johnson county, surrendered to the army and eventually were brought to Cheyenne to be tried for the murder of the two victims, Champion and Ray.

The denouement was farcical. The jailer

in Cheyenne said that his financial resources would not enable him to feed so many prisoners and if Johnson county wanted to accuse all those men of murder, why then Johnson county should pay for their board bill until the trial came up. Johnson county protested that it did not have that kind of money either. The judge then released the prisoners with the admonition to return for the trial—whereupon they fled in all directions. There were two witnesses to the murders: two trappers who were stopping overnight with Champion and Ray. These witnesses were threatened and bribed—and disappeared. The *Laramie Boomerang* reported on May 11, "It is hard to tell where Jones and Walker are at the present time. They were given a hearing yesterday in Omaha on the charge that they were guilty of selling liquor to Indians and were released on their own recognizance . . . As soon as the witnesses were released they were again taken in charge by one of the attorneys of the cattle combination and ticketed for the South. They will probably never again be heard of." When the trial came up it was dismissed for lack of evidence. Walker, one of the trappers, told his story in *The Longest Rope*, by D. F. Baber.

The question for the history student in this conflict is: Were these men in Johnson county cattle thieves or not? For while being shot is a grievous punishment, cattle rustling is certainly a grievous fault. The claims and counter-claims of the participants in the conflict center around the "you're all a bunch of rustlers" charge and the "oh no we're not" answer. Just how much rustling was going on in Johnson county?

On March 17, 1892, the *Buffalo Bulletin* quoted the Billings, Montana, *Gazette* as saying that two-thirds of the new brands in northern Wyoming were owned by rustlers and that the *Buffalo Bulletin* "openly advocates the cause of cattle thieves. This coming spring the cattle thieves declare they will run the roundup to suit their wants. This defiance of the laws of mine and thine will certainly precipitate a conflict in which the blood of honest men will flow and commingle with that of thieves and lawless characters."

The *Bulletin* answered: "Now we desire to inform Mr. Becker and the other upholders of murder and terrorism that the *Bulletin* is in league with no thief or thieves. The editor of this paper has been a resident of Johnson county since the spring of 1889 and in his capacity as a newspaper reporter has been brought in direct communication with all the county residents, a large percentage of whom are subscribers to the *Bulletin*. The sentiment existing here is as strong against a thief as it is anywhere else, and the sentiment of our people against assassination is as strong as it is in most places, and apparently, stronger than in Montana . . . If a majority of our people are rustlers and thieves, we prefer their society to the murderous monsters who committed the cowardly deeds here last December. (This is a reference to the murders of the two Johnson county men, Tisdale and Jones, who were shot in the back). The editor of the Billings *Gazette* came to Wyoming some years ago and ate bread with and at the expense of the very man he is now vilifying. It is true he was once hung up by his feet and treated to a dose of water poured down the leg of his pants, but such little pleasant-ries should not cause Mr. Becker to sour on the entire country.

". . . Even the judge of the district court has not escaped the literal shower of libels written against us. He has been led to believe that a reign of terror exists here and the 'rustlers' have written the death warrants of all our prominent business men and all the large stock raisers.

"To tell the truth, the only terrorizing that has gone on and the only murder that has been done have come from the side of the big stockmen. There may be as many as thirty men in the entire county who are or have been suspected of rustling, and it is anything but good sense to imagine that thirty men can bulldoze or terrorize 3000 able-bodied citizens who have lived in the West long enough to know how to take care of themselves.

"The fear expressed by so many newspapers that a 'war of extermination' will

begin in Johnson county this spring has not scared anybody that we have heard of. Our people are fully capable of protecting themselves, and if the big cattlemen have mapped out a program of murder for the coming summer and will not be satisfied with anything else than the innocent blood of our citizens, why then the climate will be as salubrious as usual but this locality will be a bad one for traveling arsenals from abroad. Every man in this country owns a Winchester and knows how to handle it. The probability is that he will not hesitate to protect his life and property whenever or wherever he is attacked. We deplore the publication of the sensational rot that has been given to the world regarding Johnson county as being a home for the lawless and a harbor for thieves as deeply as anyone and have used the columns of the *Bulletin* to refute the vile slanders that have been uttered against us; but if the time ever comes (and we hope to God Almighty that it will not) when we are called upon to choose between the people of this county and the men who, for hire or pay, have shed innocent blood and cast a lasting disgrace upon the home of our choice we will be found on the side of the former, Winchester in hand, if necessary. A man's life is a man's life, and if we have got to submit to the dictation of murderers, leave the country, or die, we will choose the latter and die fighting."

The reaction of the editor, Joe DeBarthe, to the charge of rustling is typical of his style. Someone accuses Johnson county of harboring rustlers and the answer is a perfunctory agreement that rustling is bad, but the big guns of the argument are turned upon the contention that illegal assassination is much worse. There is probably no doubt that DeBarthe's hatred of murder was sincere. For months after the murder of Tisdale and Jones he continued to comment upon it and offered a reward for information about the murderers. When a reader wrote in asking, "Confidentially, who did murder Tisdale and Jones?" De Barthe answered, "A remorseless, treacherous, kindless villain; a black-hearted, conscienceless monster; a being in

the shape of a man, lacking every instinct of a man; a viper; an enemy to civilization, a brute who would steal the livery of the devil to masquerade in heaven; a living something that no language can describe, no eye detect, and no law punish, a satellite of hell let loose upon the earth to do the bidding of its master; the smallest, meanest, most crime-loving thing that e'er the gates of Perdition opened to receive. We do not know its other name. Johnson county will give \$5000 to the man who discovers it. We would divulge it for nothing if we knew it."

Perhaps the casual dismissal of charges of rustling was due to the feeling that the big cattle firms were wealthy enough anyway, and furthermore, were heavily financed by foreigners—notably English and Scotch. There is a long tradition of antipathy to wealth in America reaching back to Jackson's days—and these charges of stealing cattle from millionaire firms were being made in the days of the incipient Populist fulminations against millionaires.

The Northern Wyoming Farmers and Stockgrowers Association which was planning the threatened separate and illegal roundup in May, 1892, felt constrained to dissociate itself from extreme populist radicalism while it did attack monopoly. "In our noble association," they announced in December, 1891, "there is no communion in agrarianism. We are opposed to such spirit and management of any corporation or enterprise as tends to oppress the people and rob them of their just rights. We are not enemies to capital but we oppose the tyranny of monopoly."

The *Laramie Boomerang* editorialized after the conflict was over, "Probably one half of the desirable portion of this state is appropriated by men and capital who are not even citizens of the United States. If stock industry cannot be carried on successfully in this state without robbing the many to enrich the few, the cattle kings will have to go."

One of the largest British firms in northern Wyoming was the Powder River cattle company which declared in a stockholders'

report that it possessed 48,625 cattle and was worth about one and one-half million dollars.

The *Buffalo Bulletin* once complained that the foreign element was falsifying its counts of cattle property in order to evade county taxation: "They care for the county to exactly the extent that their own personal interests allow them to care for it. We don't claim they are any worse than the rest of humanity only we don't like to see them posing as martyrs. A man who swears for purposes of assessment that he has only 1500 cattle on the range hadn't ought to make a roar when some one else claims a share in the calf crop."

Another note in the anti-foreignism was the homesteader vs. cattle baron argument. The Powder River cattle company could not graze its 40,000 cattle on 160 acres which the Homestead Act provided, and they did not want to pay a price for land in an arid country according to price policies which had been established in more fertile areas. Faced with this dilemma, they simply appropriated public land for their use and maintained their title to it by the strength of their organization. On December 24, 1891, the *Bulletin* announced, "Why, the big cattlemen of the state own thousands upon thousands of rich Wyoming land that they have deliberately stolen from the government; land they hired on to take up, make proof on, and deed over. Oh yes they did; and they know they did and we know they did, too. When settlers came in, the cattlemen raised a cry about the range being destroyed. They had gobbled up all the rich creek bottoms they could procure wire fence to enclose and called these places their home ranches and the rest of the state was their range. Six years ago the big cattlemen began losing their grip on the public domain in Wyoming. They became very angry then. When a man who had been working in one of their outfits had the audacity to take up 160 acres of land for himself the big fellows blackballed him. If they could not frighten him off, they proposed to starve him out. But the little fellow had saved his money, bought

a few cattle and hung on. He wouldn't be bluffed. He was thereupon branded as a rustler and that outlawed him so far as the big cattlemen all over the state were concerned."

There was about a 700% increase in farms in Johnson County from 1880 to 1890 (from 43 to 307). The incursion of the settlers undoubtedly nettled the stockmen who to this day have not been able to secure a satisfactory revision of the Homestead Act for cattle grazing. The *Denver News* said in April, 1892 about the farmers, "Their only offense is in having located upon ranges that were previously occupied by the herds of rich corporations, whose members enliven the fine society of our cities, and many of whom are foreigners living abroad and having no interest in this free country except in the dividends they draw from American free grass."

The *Buffalo Bulletin* on Dec 17, 1891 tried to face the question somewhat directly but instead of condemning rustling outright, took the position that the open range system had encouraged rustling; that the large cattle firms had paid their cowboys about five dollars for every maverick (unbranded motherless calf) regardless of who might have owned the maverick; or in other words, why condemn thievery when even the respectable people had condoned thievery or had begun their careers as thieves? "Now let us sit down and calmly look this matter squarely in the face; let us ask ourselves what and who are the rustlers? Let us examine the records of our county and discover what men or class of men have grown wealthy in the cattle business who started with a branding iron and a thieving propensity, or what men or class of men have been a standing menace to our country's prosperity and a detriment to that character of honesty that encircled two-thirds of the rich Wyoming creek bottoms with barbed wire fences and cried to the home seeker, 'Move on, the world is mine.' . . . Let us measure justice with the injustice suffered by those who drove small unbranded herds into this state and ask ourselves what class

of men took unto themselves the last remaining hoof of stock from the immigrant and laughed at the poor man's misery while they figured on their own herds' increase and the arbitrary power that money gave them. Let us reason out the problem that made 'top men' and find a solution to the riddle of the \$5 a head maverick."

In a letter to the *Bulletin* from Big Horn, Wyoming, a rancher named William Brown wrote, "The truth of the matter in regard to what is termed rustling or the gathering of unbranded cattle (known as mavericks) is this: That for years many of the big cattlemen have paid their employees so much per head for branding this class of cattle. But when these men took up ranches, and bought stock, and set up in business for themselves, they were classed as dangerous citizens and promptly blackballed (i.e. forbidden to ride the range) by the stock association, on the supposition that they were doing for themselves what they had formerly done for their employees, or in other words the enormity of the crime of branding mavericks never dawned upon the minds of the stockmen, until some other fellow got the maverick."

An account of the Johnson County War which became a collector's item was Asa Mercer's *The Banditti of the Plains*. Mercer had been on the side of the big cattlemen and supported their policies in the livestock paper which he edited. After the invasion of Johnson county, Mercer switched sides and blasted the powerful and prominent men in the state in his book. His printing plant in Cheyenne was subsequently destroyed, all copies of the book were burned, and he was run out of town. The book was recently re-issued by the University of Oklahoma Press and is available in most libraries.

Mercer minimized the rustling and claimed that what had really happened was that the range had become overstocked. Beef shipments fell off in quality and therefore dividends to London and Glasgow stockholders diminished. To prevent diminished profits, he said, the managers began to ship two year olds and even yearlings. But while

this might bring in dividends today, it ruins the future of the herd for dividends tomorrow. Then hard winters came along, like the winter of 1886-87 which killed off large numbers of cattle unable to find shelter from the blizzards and unable to paw through the ice to the grass underneath. "It is evident," Mercer wrote, "that the general managers of cattle companies found themselves in exceedingly hot water—between the devil and the deep blue sea, so to speak. Something had to be done; their integrity and financial reputation demanded action. Dividends were passed and the shareholders demanded the reason. To explain that the herds had been systematically robbed of future beef steers in the shipment of unripe cattle would be to impeach themselves. To admit that hard winters and overstocking the range had decimated the herds would not be in harmony with official reports rendered. Some other excuse must be found. 'Eureka,' says one. 'Thieves!' he ejaculated, and forthwith the cry echoed and re-echoed over the entire range cattle country."

About six months previous to Mercer's interpretation the *Bulletin* had similarly theorized: "The winter of 1886 sent many an outfit to the wall and small owners profited where the big ones met disaster. A thousand causes have conspired in the last decade to the disadvantage of the cattle barons, all of which the latter sum up in the term rustler. Whatever misfortune comes, wherever the responsibility belongs, it is laid to the door of the rustler, for the rustler is the cattle baron's convenient scarecrow. He has thought about it, talked about it, written about it, dreamed about it, until like the spectre at the feast, the rustler cannot be driven from his mind."

A look at cattle prices in this period shows that the cattle industry was indeed in trouble — whether from rustling or other causes. In 1892 cattle had dropped in price to \$16.49 per hundredweight, the lowest price of the post-Civil War period. This might be compared to the price of \$25.26 that cattle brought in 1884 when the public-range-free-grass cattle industry was at the

peak of its boom. And cattle prices did not drop out of the rut they were in the 1890's until the Spanish American War and the army's demand for beef again drove the prices upward.

But to agree with the interpretation that the whole charge of rustling was absolutely baseless one would have to neglect other important evidence. Even friends of Johnson county admitted that *some* rustling was going on. E. U. Snider, the sheriff of Johnson county in 1892, when asked pointblank how many rustlers there were in Johnson county answered carefully, "Of my knowledge I know of none but I have counted twenty to twenty-five men who are reputed to be or have been designated as rustlers." A correspondent of the *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, in writing a description of the Johnson county force which had surrounded and besieged the invading posse, wrote, "Of the 175 men on the ground I should say, judging from their appearance and what I hear, that 125 were ranchmen, 25 more mechanics and working men who each own a piece of land. The other 25 are rustlers, gamblers, and men from about town."

It seems pretty clear that there were some rustlers there at Johnson county. The big stockmen placed the estimate as high as forty or fifty men (the posse which invaded the county had a death list of seventy-five), and friends of the rustlers spoke about twenty or twenty-five men. Did the rustlers dominate the county? The *Laramie Boomerang* of May 7, 1892 said, "... All the papers agree that the thieves and honest men are bound together by the very closest ties. They will fight, bleed, and die for each other apparently. In the late unpleasantness 400 or 500 honest men abandoned their homes and businesses at the beck and call of the thieves. . . ."

The *Buffalo Bulletin* did not agree that the thieves were dominant. When the *Cheyenne Industrial Record* complained of robbery of ranch storehouses in Johnson county; said that cattle were being stolen right and left, and "somebody will have to be killed," the *Bulletin* answered, "Imagination is a glorious

thing and somebody has been loading the *Record* man. There has not been one case of store house robbery on the Johnson county side of the Big Horn Basin during the present year that the people or officials of this county have heard of and the reported stealing of cattle right and left is a mistake. [Was that the strongest word you could find, Mr. DeBarthe?] Dep. Sheriff Donahue could not find one case of horse or cattle stealing in 1891 and had visited every cow and horse outfit to find out who lost stock. Then: why not go to court instead of writing letters to Cheyenne? [But the stockmen claimed that juries always acquitted suspected rustlers]. As for the remark that 'someone will have to be killed' why that is simply counseling murder and we are not in sympathy with either thieves or thugs."

The *Bulletin* did not believe that any prominent men had been terrorized by rustlers. "What need they fear? None of the 'prominent men' of this section have been assassinated. Only three or four poor devils who were working for a living have laid down their lives at the call of the cattlemen's bullet or the hired assassin's lariat. What need these 'prominent people' fear? . . . Men who appeal to the law of the land do not resort to lynch law. It is no answer to the demand of the north for justice to say that there are cattle thieves in this section. The *Bulletin* knows there are thieves here and have been ever since the stockmen came into this country. Go back to the time when the first maverick brand was started in Johnson county and tell us who started it. If the conundrum is too deep for you, we will take the trouble of reproducing it and giving the owners' names."

It seems that the *Bulletin* could never condemn rustling and put a period at the end of the sentence. It always qualified its condemnations by a claim that the big cattlemen had started it, that illegal lynching of suspected rustlers was worse than illegal appropriation of stock, etc. Cowboy unemployment may be one clue to the development of rustlers. After the hard winters in the 1880's some of the big firms began to lay off their cowboy em-

ployees. The 1890 census shows that there were 1101 unemployed cowboys in the state—632 of them having been unemployed for more than six months. (There were a total of 4134 cowboys in the state that year). What were the unemployed cowboys doing with their leisure time? How did they live?

The separate northern roundup which was planned for May, 1892 was the ultimate expression of defiance. In April the hired gunmen galloped into Johnson county on horseback bent on their mission of death and execution.

As long as it seemed that the posse was successfully making progress, the acting governor, Amos Barber, did nothing. The *Laramie Sentinel* cried, "For God's sake and humanity's sake—let's try and stop it." But the governor said he would not take action since "the matter has not been brought to my attention officially. I only know of the matter through newspaper reports which, as you know, are somewhat conflicting on the subject." The last session of the state legislature had taken the power to call out the militia away from the sheriffs and mayors and put it solely in the governor's hands. But the governor declared through his judge advocate that he would not call out the militia because the law required that it first must be shown that civil authorities were unable to quell a disturbance and he had received no such information. "Besides it would be a very expensive undertaking as all of the militia would have to be mounted to be of any account," the judge advocate explained.

The *Cheyenne Sun* snarled, "In Johnson county the rustlers are all-powerful and the machinery of the courts is ineffective to punish the cattle thieves. Let us have no namby-pamby sentimentalism about the killing of a few stock thieves."

But when the governor heard that the extra-legal posse was surrounded by Johnson county people who were aroused by the news of the murder of Champion and Ray he appealed to the President of the United States (through the Wyoming senators in the capital) for federal troops. The army was sent

to the scene, arrested the posse and brought them to Cheyenne.

On April 29 a meeting of citizens in Johnson county passed the following resolutions: "Resolved, that the people of Johnson county have borne the insults, injury, insinuation and outrages heaped upon them by reason of this invasion at the hands of the acting governor and his advisers, the Wyoming Stock-growers Association, and its adherents, and the *Cheyenne Sun* and *Tribune* with patience, forbearance, and patriotism.

"Resolved, that the action of Acting Governor Amos W. Barber in permitting an armed body of men to enter this state in violation of the Constitution of Wyoming, in preventing the use of the state militia at the call of the sheriffs of the several countries, in removing civil prisoners under escort of the U.S. Army without apparent cause from the scene of the crimes, brand him, Amos W. Barber, a traitor to his people.

"Resolved, that we view with suspicion any citizen of Johnson county who continues to support the *Cheyenne Sun* and the *Tribune* either by advertising or by subscribing for their publications."

The *Laramie Sentinel* urged that a sense of justice prevail and that if rustlers were tried, they should be punished and so should the assassins but that "our people would a little rather, for choice, begin on the cattle kings than the cowboys." The *Laramie Boomerang* said, "We don't see how they are going to escape being tried for murder and convicted too. And if rustlers are half as numerous and desperate up there as they have been represented to be, we wouldn't give ten cents for all the stock they have in that country after this affair."

The fall of 1892 was election time. Wyoming Democrats fused with the Populists and decided to support the Populist candidate for president, James Weaver. The *Laramie Sentinel* scoffed, "How many staunch old Jefferson and Jackson Democrats are going to vote for crook Weaver, fiat money, and communism?"

The *Boomerang* called the deal between the Populists and Democrats "the great, the

mighty, the monstrous, disgraceful, inhuman, unprincipled, diabolical, outrageous, disastrous, calamitous, un-American, unrighteous, sacrilegious, traitorous trade." But on November 12 the Populists elected a governor, a Representative, and a judge of the Supreme Court. Robert Foote, who had been slated for death on the death list of the invading posse, was elected state senator from Johnson county. "We have met the enemy and we are theirs," the *Sentinel* moaned after the election. "Everything lost but our virtue. And not much left of that."

The big cattlemen undoubtedly suffered from rustler raids on their herds by both professional and amateur rustlers. But public opinion, especially in Johnson county, was against the millionaire cattle firms and was ready and willing to close both eyes to any cattle stealing that was going on.

History shows many examples of publicly condoned stealing or, more euphemistically, confiscation of private property. The land reforms of Solon, the confiscation of church estates by Henry VIII, the emancipation of the Negro slaves, and the confiscation of Dutch property by Indonesians are a few of many cases in point. These confiscations took place because the public felt that the owners of property were guilty of many injustices and deserved to be robbed; and those men who were leading the demands for robbery were determined, revolutionary in spirit, with clear-sighted goals for a new order of relationships in society.

Rustling in Johnson county was in nature, I believe, just such a type of revolutionary, publicly condoned expropriation. But the leading men in Johnson county, although they felt that the rich cattlemen were guilty of many injustices, were property owners and were property conscious. The landowners of history have never been as revolutionary as the landless. After the French peasants were freed from serfdom and became landowners, they voted for Napoleon as emperor. Furthermore, there was no theoretical formulation of a new order of things, or a

theoretical justification of robbery such as the kings had when they used the argument of heretical sects that the church should be poor, as Christ and the apostles were poor, as an excuse to rob the church. The only theory that the *professional* rustlers had was to become personally wealthy by preying on the large herds of the big stockmen, and the small rancher or farmer who rustled cattle as an *amateur* had a guilty conscience about it and, being a cattle owner himself, could subscribe to no theory that justified the stealing of cattle. In the excitement of the invasion of the county there were some revolutionary moments. The Democratic state convention which took place in the same month came close to adopting a platform which was in the words of the *Laramie Sentinel*, "in favor of hanging all the stockmen and stealing all the stock in the state." But it did not last. The small operators were basically respectful of property. In the same month that the invasion took place the *Buffalo Bulletin* invited any agents of the large cattle firms who had not personally taken part in the invasion to "come here in perfect safety and attend to the legitimate interests of the men who have property here and pay taxes for the support of the county and need fear no molestation at the hands of any of our citizens."

The invasion of the county showed clearly that both sides were quite determined to protect their rights but accomplished little else for the invaders but a contribution to a political defeat at the polls a few months later. After the dust had settled, both elements continued to live in peace in the same state; some large firms cut down their operations considerably and planted hay for winter forage, and others turned to sheep. Then the Spanish-American War brought prosperity and old hates were put aside, even if not forgotten. Today the major interest in the conflict is shown by novelists, scenario writers, and students of history interested in the lessons the clash of social classes in the past has to teach.

The Teachers' Page

HYMAN M. BOODISH

Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia, Penna.

AN INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN THE HUMANITIES AND THE SCIENCES FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

In the Spring term of 1958 a one-period-a-week lecture course was introduced in the Abraham Lincoln High School to the tenth and the eleventh grade college block students. The formal title of the course was "Exploring the world of Knowledge." The students referred to it as the "Culture Course."

The introduction of this course was merely another facet of the larger program that has been in operation for the academically talented students at the Lincoln High School. Several aims have motivated the planning of this program:

First, to provide an educational environment wherein the academically talented student will be stimulated to work at his maximum capacities.

Second, to prepare him to enter successfully, after graduation, upon his future educational career—in a sense, to compete successfully with graduates from other schools.

Third, to initiate a broadening of his cultural horizons to the degree that will stimulate him to want to maintain a continuing active interest in the humanities and the sciences, even though he will ultimately want to devote (career-wise) his major energies to one area of human knowledge.

The course, "Exploring the World of Knowledge," was designed to supplement what the regular courses in English, mathematics, sciences, social studies, foreign languages, fine and industrial arts, and physical and health education were already accom-

plishing with respect to the above aims but particularly with respect to the third aim. It came into being following a series of discussions between the principal, Mr. Charles H. Williams, and members of his administrative and supervisory staff. For a long time Mr. Williams felt that something even more might be done for the brighter students, in addition to the type of program they already had by virtue of being rostered to college bound blocks and to accelerated classes. These initial discussions, in the nature of brain-storming sessions, eventually focused everyone's thinking on a humanities and sciences course.

The task of preparing the preliminary outline, objectives, and contents of the course was delegated to the writer because it fitted into one of his major school responsibilities, the improvement of instruction.

Although the course content theoretically embraced the whole world of knowledge, the time factor in an already tight curriculum schedule, as well as the practical consideration of getting members of the faculty to lecture on the various subject areas, naturally placed some limitations upon what areas of knowledge could be included. Fortunately, the individual members of the Lincoln High School faculty represent a broad distribution of cultural interests. For the first term there were more faculty volunteers than could be scheduled.

After one term's experience, the course is naturally still in the experimental stage. It is offered one period a week, beginning in

the tenth grade and continuing through the first term of the twelfth grade. The twelve A course will be in the nature of a seminar session rather than the lecture approach (see copy of course). For the time being the twelve B students are not included because it was felt that they might be preoccupied with immediate problems of graduation, making applications to colleges, taking College Board Examinations, and participating in the many activities related to graduation. For the present, also, there will be no credit offered for the course, no tests, and no required reading. It is hoped that the students will be stimulated to want to read on their own.

An outline of the course for the present school year, as well as the first series of lectures (Spring term, 1958) follows. We shall present an evaluation of the first term's experience with the course in a subsequent issue of "The Teachers' Page."

EXPLORING THE WORLD OF KNOWLEDGE
(An Introduction to the Humanities and
the Sciences)

Purposes of the Course

1. To introduce you to those areas of knowledge and ideas which have been in the forefront of man's attention, and which have influenced the course of history and the interaction between men and ideas.
2. To inspire each of you to identify himself with one or more areas of interest, and to motivate you to want to pursue a more intensive study of them.
3. To help you become aware of the importance of reading in getting knowledge and understanding of the world of ideas, and to develop in you a love of reading.
4. To help you acquire attitudes necessary to the development of a critical or evaluative approach to all aspects or problems of living, both personal and group.
5. To introduce you to and to give you some experience in the skills of study, research, and written and oral expression so that you may successfully pursue knowledge beyond your high school years.

10A-10B—Spring Term, 1958

1. Introduction
2. Man and His Environment
3. Men Who Have Explored the Skies
4. Trailblazers in Economic Thought
5. Great Poetry of the English Speaking World
6. Foreign Language Literature (German and Spanish)
7. Three Dimensional Forms Today
8. Men of Mathematics—Major Accomplishments
9. Explorers in the Origin of Language and Semantics

11A-11B—Spring Term, 1958

1. Introduction
2. Man and His Environment
3. Evolution of Number
4. The Fine Arts in Everyday Life (Perception and Expression in Art)
5. Great Men of Science
6. Music in Everyday Life
7. Foreign Language Literature (German and Spanish)
8. Latin Classical Poets
9. Persistent Great Issues

10A-10B—Fall Term, 1958-59

1. Introduction
2. The Middle Ages—Contributions to Our Culture
3. Probers of the Human Mind
4. The Romance of Science
5. The World of Music
6. Explorations in Mathematics
7. Philology — Latin and Teutonic Word Origins
8. Journalism in Mass Communication
9. Different Ways of Seeing

10A-10B—Spring Term, 1959

1. Introduction
2. The Scientific Mind
3. The Meaning of History
4. Foreign Language Literature
5. Great Composers of the Opera
6. Explorations in Astronomy
7. Three Dimensional Forms Today
8. Miltonic Poetry and Poetry of the Romantic Period

9. Explorations in Mathematics (continued)

11A-11B—Fall Term, 1958-59

1. Introduction
2. Greek Philosophers
3. Medieval and Modern Philosophers
4. The Fine Arts — Early Painting and Sculpture
5. Great Men of Science
6. Mathematics—Logic
7. American Literature
8. Persistent Great Issues
9. The Behavioral Sciences

11A-11B—Spring Term, 1959

1. Introduction
2. Mathematics—Numbers
3. Language and Human Behavior
4. Foreign Language Literature
5. The Fine Arts—Modern Art and Architecture
6. The Behavioral Sciences—Sociology and Anthropology
7. Explorations in Astronomy
8. Political Theories of Government
9. Great Poetry of the English Speaking World

12A—Seminars in Research in the Humanities and Sciences (Omitted Fall Term, 1958)

1. The Nature of and Techniques in Research

First seminar is to be devoted to the techniques of research; the use of source materials (original and secondary); the making of bibliography; the use and nature of the interview; the use of the survey approach; the use of library facilities; preparation of reports.

At this time students will select topics for individual research. These may be selected from material covered in the lectures or from other areas of interest to the student.

These reports are to be written and to be delivered orally in subsequent seminars. A schedule of two or three reports a day is to be made. Reports may include original creations, poetry, short story, original musical compositions, original theories, etc.

At this seminar, also, students will

make progress reports on their topics with the view of seeking critical guidance both from the teacher and the members of the class with respect to such items as, outline of topic (areas to be covered), availability of source material, manner of organization, difficulties encountered, etc.

Subsequent seminars are to be devoted to student reports and their discussion. The number of weeks in each subsequent session will depend on the number of topics selected by students in any particular area.

2. Seminar in the Physical Sciences
3. Seminar in Mathematics
4. Seminar in the Social Sciences
5. Seminar in Literature
6. Seminar in the Arts
7. Seminar in Music

* * *

The Carnegie Corporation of New York sent us the following release which deals with the important topic:

"HOW TO THINK ABOUT COLLEGE"

The frequent criticism that American young people are governed by a love of security and inclination to conformity might better be directed at their parents, John W. Gardner, president of Carnegie Corporation, says in the foundation's annual report (1957) . . . "Parents should not assume that the only possible objectives for their sons and daughters are comfort and security. They should be hospitable to the vitality that expresses itself in chance-taking," he says.

The annual report reveals that grants of more than \$7 million were made during the past fiscal year, which ended September 30, for educational purposes in the United States and certain British Commonwealth areas.

In his opening statement, "How to Think About College," Gardner says: "A society in which the young people have lost their boldness and sense of adventure, their zest for exploration and risk-taking, and their capacity for dedication—such a society is headed for the history books." He urges young people not to make career decisions too early, to avoid overspecialization, and to choose broad liberal arts education which will allow them

to "range widely over the fundamental fields of knowledge."

Gardner poses the questions which young people and their parents should ask themselves in thinking about higher education. He points out that not everyone should go to college, and deplores the overemphasis on higher education as "a guarantor of economic success, social acceptability, and general human worth."

For those who do decide to go on to college, he describes the diversity of American educational offerings which young people should be aware of. "One of the minor ironies of American life is that few parents or young people are aware of the full range of choices," he says, pointing out that there is higher education "in every kind of social and sociological context—urban or rural, religious or secular, with or without social pretensions."

Young people going on to school will want to consider the size of the institution in which they would be most happy; whether they should be educated in a part of the country different from their own, or close to home; whether they prefer coeducation or a men's or women's college. He emphasizes that too much stress has been laid on the so-called

prestige institutions. "There are many, many good colleges and universities throughout the U.S.," he says, "and the parent or young person who narrows his list to a few glittering 'big name' institutions is unwisely limiting his range of choices."

In discussing education and the nation's future, Gardner points out that throughout our history we have "profited enormously by the daring of our young people, by their adventurousness, by their hunger for new horizons, by their willingness to make sacrifices and to seek something without knowing what they sought." American young people are as brave and high-spirited and generous as ever, he says; what may have changed is our capacity to evoke these qualities.

He claims that parents "can do much to give the young man or woman a sense of the opportunities the world holds," and that they should begin early to help their youngster "pack his bag for an unknown future. If they equip him as he should be equipped for such a perilous journey—with fortitude and willingness to learn, with imagination and good sense, with the capacity to use his mind critically, and with all the other abiding values—they can send him off without too precise knowledge of his ultimate destiny."

Visual and Other Aids

IRWIN ECKHAUSER

Washington Jr. High School, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

FREE MATERIALS

Alaska—49th State—in Pictures. For a bird's eye view of Alaska as it is today, this newly published, 64 page, paper-bound booklet is among the best we have seen to date. More than 100 black and white photographs accompany an informative text covering Alaska's history, topography, people, industries, cities, roads, and its potential on our front line of defense. Send orders to the Sterling Publishing Co., 419 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

Alaska. By David W. Landis. Excellently written and colorfully illustrated 64-page booklet on contemporary Alaska, prepared with the co-operation of the American Geographical Society and published in the "Around the World Program" series of booklets by Nelson Doubleday Inc., Garden City, N. Y. 1957. Available only on a subscription basis.

A pocket Guide to Alaska. Prepared by the Dept. of Defense, this 69 page, illustrated

booklet covers Alaska's exciting past, its dynamic present, Alaska and U.S. security. Order from Supt. of Documents, Washington, D. C.

FILMS

Letter from Alaska (20 min. color. 1957. Northern Films, 1947 14 Ave., N., Seattle, Wash.) . . . A picture of life in Alaska today. Opens with a trip up the Alaska Highway to the northland and the modern city of Anchorage. Describes other cities, towns, the schools, economy, geography, climate, and people. Views Mt. McKinley, the Katmai volcanic area, the tundras, the Matanuska Valley, the glaciers, and includes animated maps.

Little Diomed (16 min. color. 1957. Northern films, 1947 14 Avenue, N., Seattle 2, Wash.) . . Life on the island of Little Diomed in the Bering Straits between Siberia and Alaska. The activities of its Eskimo people have remained much the same as centuries ago. The geography, plant, and animal life, and the people's homes are described. A rugged challenging environment demands an impressive ability for adjustment.

Great Land: Alaska (28 min. color. free-loan. 1956. Modern Talking Picture service, 3 East 54 Street, New York 22, N. Y.) . . Pictures Alaska today as it emerges from the ice age with its mountains, glaciers, forests, tundra, wildlife, and rich mineral resources. Shows Eskimo's life, growing cities, expanding industries, the hardy people who are developing the land, and the great Alaska Highway.

Alaska: Our Pioneer Heritage (20 min. color. service charge. 1956. Ideal Pictures, Inc., 58 E. Water St., Chicago, Ill.) . . A travelogue of Alaska, describing the growth and expansion due to aviation, with special emphasis on cargo and associated bush services.

FILMSTRIPS

Alaska: America's Northwest Frontier. 34 fr. black and white. Audio-Visual Materials Consultation Bureau, Wayne State Univ., 438 W. Ferry St., Detroit, Mich. . .

Depicts the major characteristics of present day Alaska.

Alaska. 81 fr. black and white. Life Magazine Society for Visual Education, 1345 W. Diversey Parkway, Chicago 14, Ill. . . Story of the opening of America's last great frontier; a look at the boom and bust days of the gold rush; an appraisal of Alaska's growing importance as a military outpost and supplier of materials.

Congress and Its Members. 55 fr. black and white. Office of Education Activities, The N. Y. Times, 229 W. 43 St., New York 26, N. Y. . . Deals with graphic current and historical photographs, cartoons, maps, and charts. It traces the growing complexity of measures that Congress must enact, the law-making process, the powers and functions of Congress and the characteristic daily activities of a Congressman.

Alaska Today. 33 fr. black and white. Visual Education Consultants, 2066 Helena St., Madison 4, Wis. . . Tells of Alaska from the early days to its present relationships as a territory. Discusses climate, natural resources, education, industry, and people.

Alaska: The Land and its People. 49 fr. color. Society for Visual Education. Shows pioneer settlements, villages and methods of transportation.

Ferment in Southeast Asia. 58 fr. black and white. Office of Education Activities, The New York Times . . . Ranges over the strategic sprawling region, with its vital resources—Malayan rubber, Indonesian tin, Phillipine hemp, massive rice crops, from Burma and Thailand. It takes up the heritage of colonialism, the pressing problems of political instability and economic and social handicaps. It arrays Southeast Asia's ties to democracy against Asian Communist imperialism and concludes with a section on "Southeast Asia in Balance."

RECORDINGS

Enrichment Records: Documents of America. This new series is produced on two 12 inch, 33 1/3 rpm, non-breakable records, pressed by Columbia Records.

- EAD 1 A. The Declaration of Independence
 B. Lincoln's Gettysburg Address
 EAD 2 A. The Bill of Rights
 B. Patrick Henry's Famous Speech
 These are highly commended. They give

an account of the events which precede the writing of the document, and subsequent national development. They contain lucid explanations of the document, and are highlighted with authentic songs of the people during that historical period. History becomes more meaningful and understandable with these Enrichment Records.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia, Pa.

Village in the Vaucluse. By Laurence Wylie. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957). Pp. xiii, 345. \$5.50.

Although the author is Chairman of the Romance Language Department at Haverford College, he is also, on the basis of this remarkable contribution, a competent social anthropologist. He settled in a little French town of Peyrane (located in southern France) and soon penetrated the "cake of custom" of the natives by studying first local history, geography, and economy—and the language—then by filling in as a supplementary teacher, and by becoming the village photographer. "As we came to know people more intimately we found them eager to collaborate" (p. xii). The result: a warm and human account of life in a French town, which is both exciting and scholarly; it shows how the web of every-day life is woven, from infancy and the school, through adult problems and worries, adult recreation and pleasures, to old age.

For some unknown reason, this brilliant contribution has received no particular promotion or even reviews in current leading newspapers (such as the *New York Times*). This is unfortunate, for Wylie's contribution ranks just as high, if not higher, than the investigations carried on in the Lynds' *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition*. In

addition, foreign exchange students and teachers would do well to learn Wylie's techniques, and the numerous organizations and endowments, pouring millions of dollars (and their hopes) into "international understanding" would do well to consider the appointment of such competent scholars as Wylie for carrying out similar projects in all parts of the world.

University of Bridgeport
 Bridgeport, Connecticut

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

American Defense and National Security. By Timothy W. Stanley. Washington D. C.: Public Affairs Press. Pp. viii, 202. \$3.25.

Recent setbacks at the hands of the Russians in important areas of military technology have suggested to some thoughtful observers that what we may need is not more scientists but more trained public administrators. Big government is old stuff to the Soviets but comparatively new in the United States. Mr. Stanley, who knows whereof he speaks, points out that the Defense Department is so vast that no one mind can comprehend it. The whole Government has undergone a revolution in size, in the last 20 years, of staggering dimensions. Few Americans clearly understand the nature of the problem.

Much of this book is for the specialist; portions of it, however, may and should be read by others. It contains, for example, a careful account of the elaborate machinery by which decisions in the realm of national policy are made, something of obviously elemental importance, which very few people have any idea of. The book is based on careful research; it is not a partisan document or a vaguely theoretical one, but is a superior product of scientific inquiry in the field of modern big government and its administrative difficulties. Here is one of the biggest human problems we face and one of the most rewarding fields for study. Teachers in both secondary schools and colleges will find the book useful in any discussion of how our federal government works today and what its critical problems are. If we would keep up with the Russians, we shall have to keep up with our own bewilderingly tangled and ever-growing jungle of bureaucracy.

ROLAND N. STROMBERG

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A Natural Science of Society. By A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. Glencoe: The Free Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 329. \$3.50.

This work is perhaps the last published statement of one of the leading exponents of the Durkheimian functional approach. A discussion presented before a faculty seminar in the Social Science Division of the University of Chicago in 1937, it presents a broad outline of Radcliffe-Brown's approach to the study of society as well as a stand in opposition to the Malinowskian school of functionalism.

Carrying on his characteristic analogies between natural and social organisms he focuses attention on social relationships and their products as the units of analysis in studying social systems.

The following theses are presented: (1) a theoretical science of human society is possible; (2) there can be only one such science—a social science; (3) such a science does not yet exist except on an elementary level;

(4) the solution of any of the fundamental problems of such a science must depend on the systematic comparison of a sufficient number of societies of sufficiently diverse types; and (5) the development of such a science awaits the gradual improvement of the comparative method and its refinement as an instrument of analysis.

Though Professor Evans-Pritchard is inclined to emphasize the convergences in the functional point of view (*Social Anthropology* 1954), Radcliffe-Brown's work contrasts sharply with another posthumously published volume in this field, Bronislaw Malinowski's, *A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1944). Both volumes should be required reading for the student of social science.

EPHRAIM H. MIZRUCHI

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Anthropology and Human Nature. By M. F. Ashley Montagu. Boston: Porter Sargent Publisher, c. 1957. Pp. x, 390. \$6.00.

Ashley Montagu is one of our most versatile and enterprising anthropologists. The bibliography of his anthropological and related writings from 1925 to 1957, carried in this book, runs to 341 items, ranging from tid-bits in popular magazines to scholarly works. He frankly believes that anthropology has not only an orthodox scholarly function, but also the functions of illuminating other sciences, and the arts and technologies as well, and of sweeping away the myths that constrict and poison many of the everyday relations of men.

This book consists of twenty-two essays, plus an appendix of seven shorter papers, all but one of these twenty-nine items previously published in scholarly publications between 1937 and 1957. The author describes his selections as somewhat "off the beaten track of orthodox anthropological studies," coming mainly from "the borderlands where the social and biological sciences meet." After an introductory paper, "Why Anthropology,"

he deals with many aspects of human nature, race, anthropology and medicine, sexual development and sex beliefs, personality development, crime, primitive medicine, and the evolution of man and mind.

In spite of some unevenness in the quality of the papers, and the careless editing and generally unattractive physical appearance of the volume, this is a most interesting and useful book. Both high school and college teachers will find it excellent for student readings, and convenient for their own reference shelves. Professional students of anthropology will be glad to have such a sampling of Montagu's writings assembled in one place. The general reader will find it absorbing and informative.

WAYNE C. NEELY

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Intuition Versus Intellect. By Paul Maslow. Valley Stream, New York: The Life Science Press, 1957. Pp. xi, 240. \$4.50.

This misleading book is filled with wild generalizations and, what is worse, with outrageous psychological inaccuracies. It is difficult to determine what the author's purpose was in writing it or what useful information he hoped to convey. A major emphasis of the work, suggested by the title and reinforced by much of the content, appears to be an anti-intellectual one ("Something ought to be done about the steadily encroaching intellectuality drying up the well-springs of nature within the organism"), a thesis which is not only distasteful to many people in the academic and educational worlds, but also seems highly undesirable in the light of recent scientific developments.

The author fails to cite empirical evidence for the many pseudo-scientific statements with which the book is strewn. What is even more unfortunate is that a large proportion of these statements are at variance with well-established principles basic to the fields of psychology, biology, genetics, anthropology, sociology, and other biological and social sciences. The work is heavily permeated with generally discredited beliefs in "racial hered-

ity" and the inheritance of acquired characteristics ("As long as the organism and the culture inherit experience . . .") and fails badly to stress the many important foundations of human behavior stemming from socialization and other forms of learning and experience.

In addition, the book is written in a disjointed and disorganized style with occasional wild flights into gobbledygook ("The new culture has a disproportionately psychohereditary effect"). The author uses many semi-technical terms which he almost invariably has failed to define. For the non-professional reader, this is almost certain to lead to misunderstanding. Readers trained in subject matters related to the volume's contents also are likely to be confused by terms which seem to have originated with the author, and by other more familiar terms which are used by him in apparently non-standard ways. Geneticists, for example, (and many other scientists) would probably be disturbed by the connotations of the word "genetic" appearing throughout the work.

This is not a book which a trained psychologist can recommend to any social scientists. There seems to be no function its contents can serve other than the dissemination of misinformation.

NORMA WEGNER .

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Samuel Gompers — American Statesman.

By Florence Calvert Thorne. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. xi, 175. \$3.75.

Florence Calvert Thorne spent "over twelve years" with Samuel Gompers as editorial, research and finally, writing assistant. During those years she was necessarily very close to Gompers, for as he said, "Girl, if you want to work with me you must understand what is in my mind."

The book is a study of Gompers' mind, as revealed, judging from the documentation, primarily in the *American Federationist*, the president's reports and other addresses. Apparently none of it is drawn from the private

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papers of "S. G." (as Miss Thorne so frequently called him).

Gompers, the unionist within the framework of industrial capitalism, with the emphasis on voluntarism, with a dislike for governmental interference, whether socialist or not, is clearly revealed. The policy of free association in economic action is the keynote. "Trade unions are associations of workers, for workers by workers to deal with workers' problems of life and work . . . The problems and procedures of industrial production are economic in character and are best dealt with by economic procedures and agencies, —not political."

Miss Thorne's work suffers from a lack of systematic approach. Twenty-four chapters in 175 pages bring as many topics, and repetition is frequent. The topic of voluntarism, which was a key idea, was only made clear through the course of the book, rather than in any systematic presentation. There is little attempt to show any growth or change in Gompers' thought. Miss Thorne

looks at Gompers as though his thought was suspended in time with no antecedents. There is a small bibliography, but no index.

A question which occurred to me, but which perhaps has no place here, is the extent to which Gompers' thought was the thought of the A. F. of L. I was impressed by the extent of Gompers' sway over his union, but the opposition, over which Gompers is always pictured triumphant, is never very clearly defined. Gompers' position in regard to the press for industrial unionism is not made explicit either.

Despite its shortcomings, this book is a splendid source for the ideas of Gompers, for much of it is in his own words. Long quotes in Gompers' own splendid prose give his position plainly. This is contemporary testimony from one who knew Gompers and his mind. That it is not definitive cannot gainsay its importance.

LEONARD F. RALSTON

State University of New York
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- "What Should Our School Accomplish?" by James R. Killian, Jr. *Educational Horizons*, XXXV (Spring 1957).
- "Gifted Children—An Examination of Some Current Assumptions," by Anne S. Hoppick. *New Jersey Education Association Review*, XXX (May 1957).
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CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

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- Atomic Energy in Agriculture.* By William E. Dick. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. vi, 150. \$6.00.
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- Psychopathic Personalities.* By Harold Palmer. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. 179. \$4.75.
- Sociology of Deviant Behavior.* By Marshall B. Clinard. New York: Rinehart and Company, 1957. Pp. xx, 599. \$5.00.

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